

JANUARY

COMMENTARY



- Democracy Needs the Open Door
The Intellectuals and Europe's Future
Why the DP's Can't Wait
From Marxism to Judaism
Palestine: A Possible Solution
Degrees—A Poem
. In Our Infancy—A Story
Yivo Comes to Morningside
The Parlor Terrorists
From the American Scene—
 The Americanism of Adolph S. Ochs
Cedars of Lebanon—
 Tales of the Hasidim
The Study of Man—
 Adjusting Men to Machines

- OSCAR HANDLIN
STEPHEN SPENDER
LEO SROLE
WILL HERBERG
ALVIN JOHNSON
YEHOASH
ELIOT L. WAGNER
MILTON R. KONVITZ
NATHAN GLAZER
LOUIS BERG
MARTIN BUBER
DANIEL BELL

BOOKS IN REVIEW

David T. Bazelon
 Marie Jahoda

Heinz Politzer

Theodor H. Gaster
 Mordecai S. Chertoff

THE MONTH IN HISTORY

LETTERS FROM READERS



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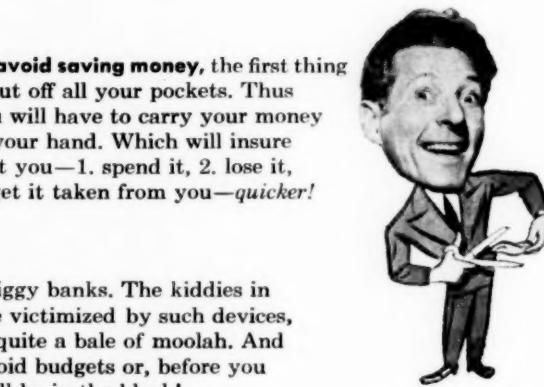


How to Avoid Saving Money

by DANNY KAYE



To avoid saving money, the first thing is cut off all your pockets. Thus you will have to carry your money in your hand. Which will insure that you—1. spend it, 2. lose it, 3. get it taken from you—quicker!



Also avoid piggy banks. The kiddies in particular are victimized by such devices, often saving quite a bale of moolah. And be sure to avoid budgets or, before you know it, you'll be in the black! It is best to draw your pay and walk down Main Street buying anything you don't particularly hate.

Above all, don't buy any U. S. Savings Bonds—or it's *impossible* not to save money! These pay fat interest—4 dollars for 3 after only 10 years! There is even an insidious Payroll Savings Plan which is *automatic*. With it, you may even find yourself embarrassed by a regular income! Get-gat-gittle!



Danny Kaye
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COMMENTARY

INCORPORATING CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD

JANUARY 1947 VOLUME 3, NUMBER 1

Democracy Needs the Open Door	Oscar Handlin	1
The Intellectuals and Europe's Future	Stephen Spender	7
Why the DP's Can't Wait	Leo Srole	13
From Marxism to Judaism	Will Herberg	25
Palestine: A Possible Solution	Alvin Johnson	33
Degrees <i>A Poem</i>	Yehoash	40
In Our Infancy <i>A Story</i>	Eliot L. Wagner	41
Yivo Comes to Morningside	Milton R. Konvitz	48
The Parlor Terrorists	Nathan Glazer	55
The Month in History	Sidney Hertzberg	59
From the American Scene		
The Americanism of Adolph S. Ochs	Louis Berg	67
Cedars of Lebanon		
Tales of the Hasidim	Martin Buber	73
The Study of Man		
Adjusting Men to Machines	Daniel Bell	79
Letters from Readers		89
Books in Review		
The Miracle of the Bells, by Russell Janney	David T. Bazelon	93
Stefan Zweig, by Friderike Zweig	Heinz Politzer	95
The Talmudic Anthology, edited by Louis L. Newman and Samuel Spitz	Theodor H. Gaster	96
An Enemy of the People: Anti-Semitism; and The Jewish Problem in the Modern World, by James Parkes	Marie Jahoda	97
Barabbas, by Emery Bekessy	Mordecai S. Chertoff	99

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IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES OF COMMENTARY

Radio and the Mass Mind

Norbert Muhlen

Forward-looking people have come to think of radio as a great potential force in American politics, either for good or evil. How magnificently it might promote tolerance and other liberal causes! What a menace in the hands of reactionaries or would-be fascists! An expert in the field of radio research examines the record—and draws some unconventional conclusions.

Pledged to the Marvelous

Harold Rosenberg

In a continuation of the discussion begun in this issue with Will Herberg's "From Marxism to Judaism," Mr. Rosenberg suggests that to think of Jewish religious belief primarily as a potential dynamic for social reconstruction is to misunderstand its true nature.

Our Obsolete Market Mentality

Karl Polanyi

The author of *The Great Transformation*, which many consider one of the most penetrating works on modern civilization, finds the root of the "crisis of the individual" in the permeation of our consciousness and culture by the thought patterns of the market. If we are to have a civilized future, we must drastically reform our present way of regarding human beings and human functions as things whose values are judged by what price they will bring, Dr. Polanyi declares.

The Arab Armies

J. L. Teller

The two Arab armies, Najada and Futuwah, have been appearing more and more frequently in the Palestine dispatches. Now we learn that their merger under the Mufti may be the next move. The origin and character of these curious military forces are here described with full documentation for the first time.

F. Scott Fitzgerald and Modish Anti-Semitism

Milton Hindus

A young critic examines the stereotype of the Jew as it appears in the work of the American novelist of the 1920's.

Isaac Babel (1894-1941)

Ray Rosenthal

An appraisal of the author of "Red Cavalry" and other short stories, whom many think the greatest master of the short story that the post-Revolutionary period in Russia produced. With a new translation of a characteristic autobiographical sketch, "The Awakening."

Germany: Passage to Nowhere

Hal Lehrman

In our February issue, we resume publication of Mr. Lehrman's "Foreign Correspondent's Notebook" with a vivid account of the life of Jewish DP's in the German detention camps, and of other phases of our and our Allies' occupation of the former Reich.

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COMMENTARY

INCORPORATING CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD

DEMOCRACY NEEDS THE OPEN DOOR

Immigration and America's Future

OSCAR HANDLIN

THE agonizing difficulty of finding loopholes in existing law through which to draw into this country even a few survivors of Europe's disaster offers a pitiful commentary upon the reversal of the historic American attitudes towards immigration. There is surely subject for reflection, ironic or compassionate, in the apprehensive protests against the invasion of the Oswego handful, in the obdurate barriers that greeted the forty-eight Latvians who ventured to expect admission at the end of their flight across the Atlantic.

THERE are few men who can write with more documented knowledge and authority on what immigrant groups have meant to the strength and growth of this nation than OSCAR HANDLIN. His approach is that of the historian and the realistic social thinker, concerned with the course and future of the democratic way of life in these states. He is assistant professor in the newly formed Department of Social Relations of Harvard University, and was previously a member of its history department. In his special field of study, the social implications of American immigration, he is best known for his book *Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865: A Study of Acculturation*, which won for him the prize awarded by the American Historical Association for the best work by a young scholar. Dr. Handlin was born in 1915, received a bachelor of arts degree from Brooklyn College in 1934 and a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1940.

Four decades ago, the same Atlantic shores welcomed in a single year more than 1,000,000 new residents. Hardly a serious voice then spoke out in favor of cutting off the stream. At that time, this golden land still stood forth as the refuge of the persecuted and exploited of all nations. The bitter movement that walled it off and closed its ears to the cries of the excluded had just been born and still awaited the travail of a world war to come to maturity.

The five years after the armistice of 1918 brought about the critical change in policy. By 1924, a new intention was plain to read in the statute book: the United States would accept no more than 100,000 entrants in any year, and an invidious quota system penalized some peoples, rewarded others, for having been born in certain areas of the earth's surface.

Not so plain at the moment were the consequences. This measure was to put an end to immigration of the old order. The principle that some men were by their place of birth better fitted than others to be Americans cast the imputation of inferiority upon the peasants and workers of Southern and Eastern Europe who were in process of repeating the emigrating experience of Ireland, England, and Germany a half-century earlier. The law which snatched away all

COMMENTARY

assurance of welcome made the costs of crossing, and the innumerable human and legal difficulties, seem more formidable even to the few eligibles. Only the most desperate were willing to crawl through the limited gaps left open to them. Since 1924 there have been years when more people left the United States than entered it, years when even the meager quotas remained unfilled.

But the men who pressed the quota scheme to enactment thought less of consequences than of gratification of chauvinistic sentiments stirred up in the wake of the war. The new departure was one in kind with the Ku Klux Klan, the renunciation of the League, and the great Red scare.

TODAY, the same narrow forces that put an end to immigration stand in the way of resumption. The outlook for any significant alteration in policy is not roseate. Yet experience in the interim has already outlined the probable effects upon the country of the failure to bring in new citizens. The contrast between the recent period of restriction and the earlier period of relatively free entry discloses the useful role immigrants are still capable of playing in the development of the United States.

Few Americans, for instance, are conscious of the real gravity of the problem of population. The number of people in this country has risen steadily and rapidly until now. But the curve of growth is flattening out, and the rate of increase has already slackened appreciably. Within the foreseeable future, our population will be static if not declining, with an ever larger proportion of elderly people. The effective labor force will be smaller, the number of dependents it will be required to support larger, and the consequent strain upon the system of production heavy.

We shall find small consolation in the efforts of statesmen and social scientists elsewhere to reverse such declines by offering bounties, family allowances, and similar inducements to raise the birth rate. Democratic and totalitarian regimes alike have

found these expedients unavailing. If such concerns have not troubled Americans in the past, that was due to a significant difference in experience. The United States also felt the depressing effects of a falling birth-rate among large segments of the native-born population after the middle of the 19th century. But to compensate for this loss, we enjoyed a steady inward flow of immigrants. Always a select group, in the prime of life, and given, because of clear if complex causes, to large and prolific families, these people by their presence accounted for the phenomenal increase in our numbers. With the ever replenishing source stopped up, there will be a serious inversion of many conditions of growth hitherto basic to our society.

How serious that inversion will be is still difficult to predict. Even to think in those terms seems strange in a nation where expansion has been a constant. But the French who faced the same trend a half-century ago have already discovered its meaning in terms of world politics. And the relevance of their experience for Americans is emphasized by the Scripps Foundation's and the Princeton Office of Population Research's estimates of population for the year 1970 (in millions):

	1940	1970
United States	132	151
Soviet Union	174	251
Northwest and Central Europe	234	225

International considerations today loom largest in our minds. But the consequences for the internal structure of our economy and our society of whether the population shall rise or fall are, if anything, fully as significant. The experience of the year since V-J day has demonstrated that this country is actually underpopulated in terms of the needs of industrial expansion at the rates of the years before 1929. With demobilization of the armed services complete and reconversion accomplished, with a working force larger than ever before, we still face

a serious deficiency in manpower. The farmer caught without essential help at the picking season, the contractor bogged down by lack of workers and of materials—which are in turn short because of shortages of labor, will offer positive confirmation of this fact.

IN THE past, immigration played a vital role in the adjustment of labor supply to the requirements of a widening economy. This was the fluid element that took rigidity out of the whole system, falling off in periods of depression, but providing a ready source of cheap and eager hands that sparked the expansion of industry in the years of growth.

It was precisely this attribute that once contributed to hostility against the policy of open gates. The decade before 1924 in particular witnessed the spread of charges that immigration lowered the standards of native workers. It would have been difficult at any time to demonstrate that nations unaffected by such recruiting of their labor forces enjoyed higher standards. But these objections nevertheless had a spurious appearance of validity at the time, an appearance which vanished, however, into thin air under the light of more recent experience. It could not be said after 1929, as it had been before, that the newcomers caused unemployment. The great depression, coming well after the end of immigration, showed that the volume and the character of unemployment were altogether unrelated to either the size of the population or the number of recent entries.

More persistent, although it ran counter to the day-to-day experience of most American workers, was the claim that competition from foreigners willing to take jobs at any price lowered the wages of native labor. Occasional local examples, as in the Pennsylvania coal fields, lent substance to this charge. But the unskilled peasants who came to these shores from isolated and backward European villages rarely were fit to hold the positions Americans wanted. More generally, the foreign-born filled the hard

and burdensome places that the better-trained natives would not accept.

The impact upon workers already here was quite different. Almost a hundred years ago, Edward Everett Hale noticed that the effect of immigration upon labor was analogous to the effect of pouring water into a vessel that held oil. The injection of the new served only to raise the level of the old contents. The experience of a century has documented this observation. As population mounted with wave upon wave of new arrivals, countless new opportunities opened up. The need for foremen and managers in industry, for clerks and bookkeepers, for minor executives in business, for shopkeepers and local artisans with special skills, for numerous doctors, lawyers, and teachers, built a social ladder up which many American families climbed. Immigrants had neither the training nor the capital to take up these pursuits and supply their own wants. The earlier comers or their children, more fortunate in this respect, filled the places thus made ready.

Meanwhile, the greater degree of division of labor, and the constantly rising efficiency that met the needs of the swelling home markets, markets in part made larger by the buying power of immigrant groups, operated together to increase the returns for every element of the population. The economy in all its branches was expansive. Despite enormous wastage in human and natural resources, the tremendous outpouring of goods brought gains to all. It carried also the assurance that growth had no limits, and the hope, on which men could build, that improvement would continue.

Here was the central factor that perpetuated social mobility in the United States and added special connotations to the meaning of democracy in America. Constant expansion opened places at the upper levels and permitted a steady movement of families and individuals from one rank to another. That movement, unabated, robbed social classes of their rigidity and warded off the stratification that was the lot of other industrial societies.

COMMENTARY

HARDLY two decades have elapsed since the close of the immigrant movement. The implications of the slackening of expansive energies are just beginning to emerge. The contraction in the range of opportunities, which threatens to spread to every field, is already apparent in some professions. Thus, if the number of doctors remains stationary, as seems the tendency, serious impediments will face those who wish to break into the calling. Everywhere, bright young men without connections find discouraging obstacles to the establishment of successful careers. Their discontent has not yet taken form, but their grievances are real. They perceive a disturbing discordance between events and the American dream of open opportunities.

The growth of population that would come from relaxation of immigration restrictions would make room for some of these energies and add new vigor to our economy. To persist in a policy that raises barriers predicated upon prejudice and lack of vision is to deprive America of an important source of strength.

Lurid fears of the immediate social consequences of immigration obscured these considerations for those who advocated restriction before 1924. But what has, in practice, happened since can easily dispel their foggy misconceptions. I will pass mercifully by the arguments of the very respectable thinkers who were once concerned with maintaining the purity of the liberty-loving "Teutonic race" in America. Recent events have cast a pall over such arguments in defense of "Anglo-Saxon" exclusiveness, if not over the sentiments behind them. But it is instructive to regard the objections of worthy people who then thought of immigration in terms of a relationship to crime, pauperism, insanity, intemperance, and machine rule in local government. It was child's play with the use of statistics to show connections; and many of the statistical studies of the period seem now like the play of children.

Again, experience since 1924 is enlightening for those who wish to be enlightened. The end of immigration had no effect upon

these social questions. Should the quota restrictions be removed, there will undoubtedly once more be foreign-sounding names among the criminal, the poor, and the diseased. But in the light of what happened in the era of prohibition, depression, and war, it will be less simple to hold newcomers responsible or to escape the conclusion that these are problems, not of immigration, but of the whole society.

Yet neither the groundlessness of these frenetic forebodings, nor the positive benefits that will accrue to the nation from a more liberal policy, have been enough to clear the way even for the legal trickle. The year after liberation still saw quotas unfilled, while Europe remained unwilling host to millions eager to depart. To all these miserable human beings, wasting where they are, potentially useful here, there has not been a single real sign of welcome. President Truman felt constrained to make his modest little proposal for the admission of 50,000 displaced persons after the adjournment of Congress. Indeed, despite this precaution, the chairmen of both the House and the Senate immigration committees immediately rejected the idea in no uncertain terms. And has not the D.A.R. already been called to arms to resist the threatened invasion?

THIS unwillingness to face the question of a change in policy, the reluctance of most significant groups or public figures to handle the issue, comes from the fact that its resolution seems likely to be made less in terms of rational considerations of interest than of deep-rooted prejudices and unconscious intolerance. The *Boston Post*, for instance, gave my approach to revision of the immigration laws a sympathetic spread when it was first presented some months ago in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, but the very same issue of the paper carried an editorial that swallowed whole the specious claim of the Commander of the American Legion that immigration would take housing away from veterans. This variant of the familiar plea that there is not enough

for everyone serves as the familiar red herring to cover up a failure to meet a social problem. It would seem obvious that the newcomers will be in no immediate position to compete for the GI's dream bungalow, and that they could more than pay for whatever accommodations they do take by supplying the labor essential to destroy the bottlenecks now throttling the housing program.

There is little profit in pointing to particular sections or groups particularly infected with this prejudice. The South, the region that in the past has absorbed fewest immigrants, has resolutely turned its face against any revival. The uncompromising hostility of Southerners originates in the failure of their own efforts to attract newcomers early in the century, and in the mounting strength of racist ideas under the impact of the Negro problem. In other areas of the country, the same manifestations spring from other causes. In some places, a lingering, latent isolationism, feeding on the delusion that the United States can somehow cut itself off from the rest of the world, is unwilling to establish any contacts beyond our shores.

There are veterans for whom travel was narrowing rather than broadening, who came for the first time into relations with foreigners under unfavorable conditions that were calculated to encourage xenophobia rather than tolerance. For many second-generation citizens, the drive to establish their own Americanism leads to a rejection of older cultural ties and to exaggerated hostility to foreigners. There are Protestants who fear that a renewed flow of immigrants would further reduce the proportionate importance of the old American denominations. There are Catholics who fear the importation of radical ideas by atheistic Communists. There are Jews who fear that a revival of anti-Semitism will be among the secondary effects. There are labor-union members who fear that the strangers will in some undefined way rob them of hard-earned security. But the outward form or specific place in which this prejudice mani-

fests itself is less significant than the fact that its underlying roots run deep through almost every sector of American society.

Fundamentally, all these resistances involve an unwillingness on the part of those who are already here and well established to move over and make room for the new arrivals, physically, economically, and in ways of thinking. These people have lost their faith in a nation capable of holding promises for an ever-widening circle of participants, promises underwritten in the past by the abundant energies of an ever-expanding society. Only such confidence could evoke the tact and adaptability, the willingness to understand and to be tolerant of diversities, that took the edge off the frictions of the past, that accepted 35,000,000 newcomers on conditions of equality without serious disorder and with substantial contributions to national life and national culture.

THE absence of that confidence now reflects a general uncertainty concerning the vitality and validity of our own social values. The young Americans of a century ago did not shirk their opportunity. They had absolute conviction of the virtue of their own institutions and ideas, and were eager to put them to the test of contact on equal terms with men raised under other institutions and swayed by other ideas. They believed implicitly in the efficacy of democratic institutions and in their adaptability to all the peoples of the world. That assurance had induced Americans to contribute men, money, and diplomatic support to the struggle against tyranny of distant folk, Greeks and Poles and Magyars, to say nothing of the Irish who had closer claims to aid. The same faith suffused the expansive impulse that carried the boundaries of the United States to the Pacific. Manifest destiny, even though it led to aggressive war, produced no colonies; until 1898, new territories became integral parts of the Union —their residents, citizens endowed with the same rights and privileges as the old.

This confidence, too, lay at the root of the

old refusal to make a selection among immigrants. Anyone who wished was free to come because those already here knew that the elements of likeness, of brotherhood, made it possible for all men to live together to their mutual advantage. Diversity of origin was an asset, not a liability, an enriching rather than an enfeebling factor. There was no anxiety about fixing American character into a rigid mold. Rather, there was an eagerness to behold what the grafting on of new stocks might bring—as Emerson put it, to let "all the European tribes," in this new melting pot, "construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature."

It is no coincidence that the renunciation of the potentialities of immigration at home has been accompanied in the last twenty years by the abandonment of our alliance with democratic forces abroad. The quota system had its counterpart in diplomacy, in the acceptance of the propriety of dictatorship, of illiberal regimes, and of colonial status for nations "unfit for democracy."

In both foreign and domestic affairs, we now act the part of old men who seek security in the evasion of troublesome questions. Unwittingly we forfeit opportunities for imaginative leadership in order to safeguard what we have. Vaguely we trust in the durability of established patterns and hope that adjustment to disruptive innovations will never be demanded of us.

Yet we shall surely be disappointed, for such adjustments increasingly become essential to survival in the modern world. There will be no standing still even were that desirable. We need only compare Negro and white birth-rates, or observe the experience of Detroit since the last war, to perceive how illusory is the expectation that the composition of American population will remain as it is. Within our territorial limits or without, we shall more frequently brush up against outsiders and more frequently face the compulsion to make room. And to get by at the internal or the international level will call for the identical qualities of tact, tolerance, and vision.

The needy people of the earth—and almost all the people of the earth are needy—look now to the United States for omens of these redeeming qualities. Uneasily, they weigh the historic meaning of America and Americanism in the scales of actual occurrences, diplomatic and domestic. Their anxiety turns about a single point: Is our belief in democracy coupled with the reservation that it is viable only in favored climes and in the hands of favored men, or does it have the inner energy for continued, untrammeled expansion? In the formulation of an answer critical for our place in world opinion, our general attitude toward minorities, and, in particular, our immigration policy, will count heavily. And we might well apply the same test to ourselves in self-judgment.

THE INTELLECTUALS AND EUROPE'S FUTURE

Reopening the Lines of Communication in Western Culture

STEPHEN SPENDER

IN SEPTEMBER of 1946, a meeting of European intellectuals was held in Geneva. This meeting was organized by a committee of distinguished Swiss leaders in thought, such as M. Babel (appropriately named, at our polyglot meetings), President of the University of Geneva, and Ernst Ansermet, the conductor.

The meetings were called *Rencontres Internationales de Genève*. The organizers meant it to be the first of a series of such meetings to be held in Geneva. One may guess that their motives in summoning the meeting were somewhat mixed. By this I do not mean that they were in any way discreditable, but that the desire to have a serious discussion of the problems of Europe was mixed with that of making Geneva an international center of discussion again after the collapse of the League of Nations, and of making Switzerland an international center for intellectual life.

The result of this mixture of motives showed itself a little in the course of the meetings. These were all as public as pos-

sible—a good thing up to a point—and the delegates were chosen to attract the greatest possible audience. This concentration on the publicity value of the *Rencontres de Genève* showed its disadvantages in that only occasional and rather desultory attempts were made to get the delegates together alone as a group to discuss the problems of the intellectual life of Europe. Only at the very last moment was there a meeting of the delegates without the public (and even this was badly arranged so that several delegates were not there, and several people were there who were not delegates). At this stage in the proceedings, it was too late to attempt to draft a resolution: some kind of message from *Rencontres de Genève* to a world discouraged by the Peace Conference at Paris.

On one occasion, the preoccupation of the organizers of *Rencontres de Genève* with publicity was almost catastrophic. This was when for a lecture by M. Georges Bernanos they provided the Salle de la Réformation, a hall two or three times the size of that of the Aula of the University where all the other lecturers spoke. M. Bernanos delivered a swashbuckling oratorical speech in which he invoked Christianity in order to preach hatred of Germany, and used the most demagogic arguments against the people (he called them, of course, "the masses"). It is unfortunate that men like M. Bernanos always speak most loudly for Roman Catholicism. For it would be unjust to judge the Church by them, and there are many Catholics who abhor the views of the international of Roman Catholic publicists, whether they are those of Bernanos in France or of Evelyn Waugh in England. The delegates themselves could not all be said to be the best representatives of

STEPHEN SPENDER is one of that group of young English poets and writers (others were Isherwood, Auden, Day Lewis, and MacNeice) who in the early 30's, while making a revolution in English poetry, expressed their abhorrence of fascism and their solidarity with the movement for socialism. He was born in 1909, of an English father and a German-Jewish mother, and attended University College, Oxford. Besides his poetry, he has written a volume of stories, *Burning Cactus*; a novel, *The Backward Son*; a poetic drama, *Trial of a Judge*; volumes of criticism: *The Destructive Element*, *Forward from Liberalism*, and *Life and the Poet*; and has translated poetry of Lorca, Toller, and Rilke. In his most recent book, *European Witness*, he describes his journey through postwar Europe.

their countries. It was unfortunate, for example, that Italy was represented by Professor de Flora, a disciple of Croce, who made a speech in a French which was totally incomprehensible to everyone in the hall, and who could take no part in the discussions. De Flora was violently attacked by another Italian for reasons which seemed to be confused with personalities. Ignazio Silone, who was present at some of the discussions, did not take part in them and emitted an air of disapproval. The American magazine *Life* quotes him as saying that the worst of these meetings between cultural representatives was that they could represent no real interchange of views because there is not a universal language of culture as there is of science. This point he must have made in an interview. It is a very good one, which should be faced in future when such meetings are arranged because it can, I think, to some extent be overcome.

France was represented by M. Julien Benda and M. Guéhenno; Switzerland by Professor de Salis and M. Denis de Rougemont; the whole of Eastern Europe by Professor George Lukacs (Hungary); Great Britain by Stephen Spender; and Germany by Professor Karl Jaspers. Apart from these there was, as I say, Professor de Flora for Italy.

To avoid confusion, I should explain now that there were two kinds of meetings at *Rencontres de Genève*. One kind was the lectures, the *conférences* in the Aula of the University, at which the delegates whom I have named spoke. The other kind was the *entretiens* held in another building of the University, at which other speakers besides the *conférenciers* spoke, not giving set lectures but making speeches of from ten minutes to half an hour (as always on these occasions nearly everyone spoke too long).

APART from the solo dervish act of Ber-nanos, the outstanding set lectures were those of Benda, de Rougemont, Lukacs, and, above all, that of Jaspers.

Benda, who must be several years older

than seventy, has, during the past ten years, developed a kind of hardening of the intellectual arteries. As often happens, his thought has coagulated particularly round certain likes and dislikes. His likes are (1) Benda; (2) the books of Benda (he carries round with him copies of several of his books, and reads them when there might be a danger of his having to listen to someone else talk); (3) France, including Napoleon; (4) the 18th century; (5) the idea of science as a completely rationalist system of thought which has nothing to do with the life of the emotions. His dislikes are (1) André Gide; (2) Paul Valéry; (3) nearly all other writers of modern France, which he calls "La France Byzantine"; (4) that which is irrational, obscure, emotional, in poetry.

Benda is such a curious figure that it is difficult to know what attitude to adopt towards him. He appears to have no relationship of cordiality with any other French writer and to be completely self-absorbed. (His comment to a French critic after the *Rencontres* was: "I was the only one who had anything of value to say: the rest were *pathétique*." "What about Spender?" my friend the critic asked. Benda thought a moment and then said: "Oh, he was not pathetic: he was *touchant*"—touching.)

Perhaps the truth about Benda is that he is a man of great intelligence who is able to take up certain critical positions, often admirable in their way, but whose extreme pride prevents him from ever entering sufficiently into the positions of those whom he is attacking. He is a man whom we associate with a different idea at different stages of his life: *Le Trahison des Clercs*, *La France Byzantine*—the idea is already contained in the titles, and often the working of it out in the detail of the books themselves is disappointing.

But there is always value in Benda's position considered purely as his own position, and not as an unfair attack on his adversaries. In Geneva, his position was the defence of the age of reason in Europe. His program for Europe today was that French

be accepted as the universally spoken "second language" of all Europeans because it is the language most capable of expressing clear and logical thought; that history be rewritten from a "universal" and rationalist viewpoint, not from a great many different nationalist and special ones; that the scientific and rational and intellectual modes of thought and reasoning be accepted universally as taking precedence over the poetic and emotional modes of expression.

Julien Benda's position had value therefore simply as a position. It was a starting-off point, something perfectly clear and concrete which one could disagree with. It was not adequate, but then no one was adequate. We could not be adequate without politics, and directly we entered onto politics there was a disagreement as fundamental, producing an impasse as fundamental, as that of the Paris Peace Conference.

M. DE FLORA was, as I have said, unfortunately incomprehensible, but evidently Crocean in his incomprehensibility. He had a large, wise, impressive head and spectacles with transparent green rims. It was unfortunate not to understand him. M. Guéhenno seems to be an evangelical socialist with enormous sources of faith, faith in man, faith in Europe, faith in the future, faith in the past. He expresses himself most vivaciously. Professor de Salis gave the most learned and informed of the lectures; I myself the least informed. M. Denis de Rougemont wants a federal Europe. So, in a way, do we all. But here we are up against two difficulties, the first of which is that a European federation would be a political decision which the "intellectuals" can scarcely influence, the second of which is that such a political decision could not be made and would scarcely mean anything if it were made today, given the present profound divisions of Europe. In order to achieve federation, an enormous amount of "re-educating" has to be done. When there is a European federation, it will emerge from a situation in which Europe has rediscovered the unity of its interests. It appears

to me therefore that talk about federation is liable to be misleading because it produces the impression that federation can be introduced like any other great political reform. In fact, we might easily have something called federation which was simply a scene of disunity like the present occupation of Germany. What is essential is to create the conditions of European (and world) unity, and not to bother about the name of the world government when it arrives out of the situation.

THE most important lectures given at Rencontres de Genève were those by Professor Karl Jaspers, and Professor Lukacs of Hungary. This brings me also to the *entretiens* at which many other delegates than the *conférenciers* took part, because these general discussions were dominated by the Jaspers-Lukacs controversy, which was in fact simply the exposure of the rift between the East and the West.

Professor Jaspers devoted the first part of his lecture to defining that which is European, and the latter part to considering what should be done in order to achieve the unity of Europe today. He looked to the extreme past, that is to say, to classical and Biblical antiquity, for the historic origins in which Europe met and found—and could still find—its unity. He looked far wider than the geographical area which is called Europe for the European spirit today, which, he said, must include America and much of Russia also.

Jaspers did not speak of politics, and he insisted, both in his lecture and in conversation, on the separation of the practical exercise and distortion of ideas in politics from the pure inquiry of philosophy. He also insisted on the ultimate significance of the individual conscience rather than the state as the arbiter of the rightness or wrongness of action. Freedom, he said, depends on knowledge, on the insistence that all knowledge must be available to humanity without consideration of the conclusions to which knowledge may lead, and on the hypothesis that all knowledge is ultimately

attainable by man. Without the knowledge which can make us free, and without the freedom to ascertain what is ascertainable, freedom is denied. He pointed out (as I have said) that the unifying concept of what is European lay in classical antiquity and the Bible. All our modern theories of politics and morals appeal ultimately to these sources. Therefore our hope was to go back and discover the deep sources where a unifying tradition was still accessible to us, and to restate this in modern terms.

LUKACS took the view that the intellectual must regard himself as an up-to-date version of the French revolutionary conception of the *citoyen*. He must see himself as the product of social and economic forces with a political responsibility towards the form of modern society which is most progressive, most anti-reactionary, most representative of the interests of the "masses," most vigilant in opposing fascism, etc. He attacked Jaspers very sharply on the lines of "social-realism" criticism, saying that Jaspers was a "broken man" representing the point of view of a bankrupt individualism. These attacks were made rather curious, and perhaps less pointed, by the fact that it was Lukacs of Budapest who looked physically more broken than the upright, austere, attentive, and friendly Jaspers. As a matter of fact, both men made a warm and friendly impression, and although the attacks by Lukacs on Jaspers sounded painfully personal, they were in fact just the routine terminology which the Marxist critic applies to his bourgeois opponents. Lukacs was not without charm, simplicity, and humility. As for Jaspers, his personality outshone that of the other delegates, and it was a privilege to be with him. One afternoon he explained to me movingly that it was with the most wonderful sense of joy and relief that he found himself in Geneva. He was amazed at the atmosphere of free discussion in which he found himself, and he felt that he was breathing again for the first time in fifteen years.

It is interesting that the really clinching

discussion which took place at Rencontres was between a German professor who had an exalted vision of the West (a fusion of Judaism, antiquity, and Christianity) and a professor from Budapest who represented orthodox Marxism. And both were characteristically more German than anything else. Lukacs, who spoke fluent German and who lived for a long time in the Weimar Republic, even let slip the phrase once, "the problem for us Germans. . ." One had the feeling that the struggle within the European soul takes place or will take place in Germany, which is the true meeting-place of East and West. Of course, at present, the Germans themselves are occupied with more practical things, and they have not yet attained the detachment to view the intellectual struggle objectively: they are too occupied in trying to play off the East or West. But the day may come when this fusion of two ideas—liberal democracy and economic freedom—will take place within the minds of certain Germans. At any rate, one had the impression at Geneva that everyone else—the French, English, Italians—were on the edge of the conflict. It would have been wise to have one or two Americans as representatives of the European spirit completely outside Europe.

Two things stood out at the Rencontres de Genève. One was that the intellectuals of Europe are now as divided politically as the politicians themselves. The old days of the united front at the time of the Spanish war have gone forever with the defeat of fascism. Every meeting of the European intellectuals for the next years will be marked by this rift between the Communist sympathizers and the violent anti-Communists. The other is that we deceive ourselves in Europe, speaking of the East and the West, if we mean that the West has any unity. The West only exists in opposition to the East. Otherwise it consists of areas such as the American, British, and French zones of Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Great Britain, the Lowlands, Scandinavia, part of the Balkans, Eire, etc.

What unity is there in the West? Absolutely none. There is a vertical division of the separate powers from each other, and there are horizontal divisions within each power between the Communists and the anti-Communists, where the struggle of the East with the West is played out.

We have to accept then that the postwar meetings between intellectuals will all reveal these divisions. Do such meetings have any value, then, if they only reveal the same depressing impasse and disunity as meetings of politicians? The answer, I think, is decidedly "yes." They have a special value for exactly the reason that the political problems today lead back everywhere to ideological, philosophical, and religious differences, which cannot be resolved on the political level. The only possible reconciliation is, if these differences are discussed fundamentally, going back to their intellectual premises. A political unity which the world may ultimately arrive at will only succeed if it is reflected in a spiritual unity embracing different contemporary ways of thought. Already at the meetings in Geneva one began to see some of the intellectual attitudes which have to be entirely changed in a unified world.

HERE are some indications of the changes which concern our intellectual rather than our political life.

Science: Until recently it has been generally agreed that "scientists are not responsible for science" (to quote M. Julien Benda). But the recent invention by scientists of instruments of war capable of destroying whole countries in a few minutes obviously raises the question whether scientists using the most advanced techniques should hand over their inventions to a world without a technique of governing itself. It is almost inevitable, then, that during coming years there will increasingly be a struggle (signs of which have already been seen) between scientists and politicians. And there must also be a revaluation by philosophers and other thinkers of the relation between the scientific and what M. Julien

Benda calls the "poetic" attitudes towards life.

History: There should be criticism and reconsideration of the history taught in all countries, which is mostly written with a nationalist bias. There should be a historic point of view which would relate the history of every country, not to its grandeur at the expense of other countries, but to the development of the whole world. The revaluation of history is essential if an attitude is to be created in the minds of young people which will enable them to remain loyal to the idea of one world. This is a task involving discussion not only between politicians but between historians and other intellectuals.

Philosophy: Just as all intellectual discussions between men of different nations in Europe today end in politics, so all political discussions end in philosophy. In the controversy between East and West, there is immediately an important disagreement as to the meaning of the word democracy. The Russians say that although there is freedom of certain individuals to publish and say what they please, there is no fundamental economic justice in the Western democracies, and therefore parliamentary elections and democratic government are shams because in fact the Westerners are governed by big commercial interests. The Western democracies reply that since in Russia there is no freedom of the individual to vote for an opponent of Stalin, the ordinary Russian has no means of expressing his dissatisfaction with the regime; and the outside world has no means of judging whether there is in Russia the economic justice which, it is claimed, gives Russians the freedom which is lacking in the democracies.

Thus each side accuses the other of bad faith. The political dispute between the two systems leads nowhere. But the discussion of principles is not so futile because, considered as principles, there is a criticism of Western democracy to be made by "economic democracy" and vice versa. Moreover, both sides agree to an idea of

freedom which, if pressed to its origins, yields a meeting-ground common to both. And in discussion on this level it inevitably is pressed to its origins.

Religion: Religion is the greatest unifying spiritual force in humanity, but it is locked up within a dozen different religious and anti-religious formulas.

Although it may not be possible or even desirable to break down the dogmas which divide the different creeds and anti-creeds, it ought to be possible to release some of the spiritual energy locked up within the religions by realizing the dependence of all our existing plans for transforming society on their appeal to certain commonly shared beliefs, and by preventing impostors from making shallow appeals to religious feeling. We can only stop the masses being enticed to support causes such as the German Christian movement by re-examining Biblical ideas, which are a basis of our civilization more universal than any existing church. If we admit our dependence on Christianity, then we must also admit the importance of being dependent on true Christianity. Just as, if we admit our dependence on freedom, then we must also seek to discover what is true freedom.

I BELIEVE that we are living through a process which, if it does not kill us, might be labeled with the term pasted onto the Germans: "re-education." The Peace Conference is one kind of re-education, but it is a grave mistake to think that re-education is only political. It must be a complete re-education in our conceptions of the relations of nations to each other in the world, of our relations as individuals to society, and of our freedom as individuals. At such a period, political development is repeatedly arrested by being brought up against the different ideologies, different traditions, different philosophies of nations, political parties, and individuals. Therefore the political task can only be completed by carrying the discussion beyond politics.

Besides discussing the fundamental ideas of our civilization, there remain also certain

causes for which the intellectuals should fight. They should fight against the obscurantism of the world today. They should fight against propaganda by governments and the concealing of information. They should insist that the people should be given by press agencies and by government announcements a true picture of the present condition of Europe.

They should demand free intellectual relations between individuals of different nations without division of the defeated from the victorious. They should demand that books be freely sent into and out of Germany and other European countries.

Thus meetings such as *Rencontres de Genève* have an important purpose. They should certainly take place annually. There should be a center in Europe where intellectuals can meet at any time they choose: where it should be possible for editors, for example, to summon an international conference of editors; and with rooms provided, so that individuals who wish to work or to go into retreat can do so almost in the atmosphere of a monastery.

Perhaps Geneva is the wrong center for such meetings. It has been suggested to me that the appropriate center would be Germany where the intellectuals would be confronted with, and surrounded by, the problems of their world.

Probably also the choice of delegates for such conferences is too limited. The organizers tend to choose the most famous writers, simply because a writer is the intellectual worker who gets the most publicity. The danger is of creating a class of spoiled traveling writers who go from conference to conference airing their familiar ideas in congenial surroundings and in the company of other writers. To some extent Geneva avoided this mistake by choosing one or two historians and professional philosophers. But it is necessary also to invite scientists to such meetings, to see that the young and even the little-known intellectual workers are represented, and to prepare a careful agenda so that the subjects to be discussed are really discussed.

WHY THE DP'S CAN'T WAIT

Proposing an International Plan of Rescue

LEO SROLE

ALLIED troops sweeping across Germany early in 1945 reacted to Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Auschwitz, with incredulity, revulsion, and fury. "There are no words in the English language to describe Dachau," is the opening sentence of an official United States Army report. The solicitude the Army forced upon the emaciated men they found there, Jews in large part, sprang from deep compassion for the victims of a crime enormous beyond all precedent.

Until then, the drama of rescue had followed the lines of the simplest movie plot. But the drama did not end there. The rescue

THE situation of the DP's in the German camps is here reported with full documentation for the first time. We are given the opportunity to see the true picture through the trained eyes of a distinguished American sociologist, who as UNRRA Welfare Director of the Landsberg camps for more than a year had unexcelled opportunity for intimate first-hand observation. What is the DP state of mind and morale? How do they live? How are they treated? What solution does the world have for their problems? LEO SROLE, who endeavors to answer these questions, is co-author with W. Lloyd Warner of *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, published in 1945 as the third volume of the *Yankee City Series*. Dr. Srole went to his post at Landsberg following his war service as psychologist in an Army Air Force convalescent hospital. To the observation of this new social microcosm, so different from the small town in Massachusetts that was Yankee City, he brought the same sociological objectivity and psychological insight that made his previous work so authoritative. Dr. Srole was born in Chicago in 1908, received his undergraduate training at Harvard and earned his doctorate at the University of Chicago. He is professor of sociology and anthropology at Hobart College and at present is on leave of absence. He is the author of a report on the psychological states and needs of Jewish concentration camp survivors, prepared for the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

was a respite only. It was followed by a change from one camp to another, in which the "liberated" victim, today, twenty months later, is still captive and still in jeopardy. There was a change also in the hero. Incredibly, the solicitous rescuer has become the camp-keeper, cold and unfriendly. The happy ending has been reconverted into tragedy. The victims still await final rescue.

Those who have stood opposed to their rescue—figures like Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Morgan and isolated United States Army officers who have recently echoed him through the instrument of Mr. George Meader—have helped postpone the freeing of the displaced, stateless Jews by denying their needs, discrediting their motives, and attacking their character.

Nor have the spokesmen of American Jewry, or liberals generally, been always correct in their facts or statements. Creature conditions in the DP camps are sub-standard, but are by no means at a level warranting statements that the present camps are "just as bad" as the Nazi concentration camps. And the attempt merely to arouse pity for people who are far from sitting on their hands, or waiting passively for their second liberation, is grossly inappropriate to their problem.

The displaced Jews have an almost obsessive will to live normally again, to reclaim their full rights as free men. Their energies and talents have been dramatically exhibited in the vigorous communities they have created in the camps, despite scant material resources and highly abnormal environmental conditions. This achievement in reconstruction reduces to absurdity the efforts made to stigmatize the Jewish survivors. It deserves the world's admiration. More important, it calls for the determination that such character and courage shall no longer be denied fulfillment. Since the story of the achievement of the displaced persons is not generally known, even in in-

formed American circles, I propose to tell it here out of my year's experiences in sharing the day-by-day life of one of the largest and earliest Jewish DP camps, that at Landsberg, in the American zone of Germany.

ESSENTIAL as prologue to the story is a brief background placing the Jews within the displaced persons situation as a whole.

Of 8,000,000 uprooted Allied nationals in Germany and Austria at the end of the war, approximately 1,000,000 remain today where they were found. Why don't they "go back where they came from?"

Roughly 75 per cent of them are Balts, Poles, Yugoslavs, and Ukrainians. Some were collaborationists, mercenaries who volunteered more or less eagerly to help build the Nazi war machine, and these realistically fear the reprisals awaiting them at home. A considerably larger number accepted the opportunities for work in Germany to save themselves or their families from starvation; they, too, fear reprisal at home—whether realistically or not is unknown.

The largest group were slave laborers brought forcibly into the Reich. While they have no ostensible reason to expect punishment in their homelands, they fear the new regimes that are aligned with the Soviet Union.

The remaining 25 per cent are Jews, with a quite different war and postwar history. They fall into three groups. The first are the accidental survivors of the concentration camps, which differed from the extermination camps only in that their victims were starved, tortured, and worked to death slowly instead of being summarily executed in mass. Almost all who were nationals of the Western countries, and of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, accepted repatriation. But those from the Baltic States and Poland had suffered as much from their compatriots as from the Nazis, and their faces were turned predominantly to Palestine. Nevertheless, most of these did return briefly to their former homes in the desperate and generally futile hope of finding their kin and recovering their possessions.

There they encountered the second, and smallest, category of Jewish survivors, those who had contrived to escape the ghettos by hiding in the forests or on the "Aryan" side of the ghetto walls.

The "Katsetler" (concentration camp) Jews quickly returned to the DP camps to which they had been moved directly after V-E day. Soon after, under the rising tide of terrorism in Poland, there followed the "forest" Jews in a stream that jammed the Jewish camps by early winter (1945-1946).

The third group of Jews were those evacuated in family units by the Russians from Poland in 1941, principally to Siberia. In the spring of 1946, approximately 150,000 accepted the Russian offer of repatriation, and were resettled largely in the new Polish province of Silesia (now cleared of its German population). From the first, sporadic attacks had indicated that, despite the ostensible good will of the Polish government, the Jewish position in Poland was untenable. Jews now began to trickle westward, and with the Kielce pogrom in July, they fled in panic to join their brethren.

In accepting them without restriction, despite the fact that existing facilities were inadequate and many complex problems were involved, Generals McNarney and Clark maintained the best American traditions of giving refuge to the persecuted and the oppressed.

In all, 275,000 Jews are homeless and stateless, suspended for almost two years now in an exodus that can move neither forward nor back, waiting for the moment the barriers will be lifted. Approximately 155,000 are in the American zone of Germany, and 25,000 in the British zone. Some 40,000 are in Austria, almost exclusively in the American zone, and 25,000 in Italy. In addition, there are an estimated 30,000 Jewish refugees, on temporary visas only, in France, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Low Countries.

This is a predominantly male and overwhelmingly young adult population. Age and sex statistics, based upon a Joint Distribution Committee census taken in Bavaria early in 1946, mutely reveal the lines of Nazi extermination policies. The sex ratio is two male survivors to one female. Only 8 per cent are under the age of seventeen, only 11 per cent are over forty. That is, 81 per cent are between the years of seventeen and thirty-nine.

The census is not revealing as to economic status and occupational background. Nevertheless, I should judge that about 5 per

cent of the adults are upper-middle class in origin, i.e., business executives and professionals; 20 per cent upper-lower class, i.e., heavy workers; and approximately 75 per cent lower-middle class, principally skilled craftsmen, small shopkeepers, and merchants.

LANDSBERG is a picturesque town, unscarred by the war, set in beautiful rolling country on the approaches to the Bavarian Alps. It has a placid air about it, which seems to be confirmed by its population of 14,000 solid, conservative, respectable burghers. But a closer glance brings into focus its meaning as a symbol of the whole recent history of Germany. Here, in a small but comfortable attendant's room in the town prison, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*. The townspeople converted the room into a national shrine.

Here, within sight of Landsberg, are the remains of a network of concentration camps, ancillary to Dachau, whose prisoners built the huge underground munitions works in the area. Through the streets of Landsberg, under the eyes of the burghers, the weary prisoners were often marched. On the town's outskirts are numerous mass graves of Jews. And in Landsberg proper are cavalry barracks built for the First World War. It is this military camp that received the Jewish survivors of Dachau in May 1945, and still houses them and their refugee brethren, 5,500 in all.

The Landsberg Jewish Center, as it is officially called, is characteristic in many respects of the older Jewish DP camps, particularly in the American zone of Germany.

The visitor arriving in town sees Jewish faces here and there on the streets. At the camp entrance, he sees residents coming and going without interruption. The barbed-wire enclosures he may have expected are nowhere in sight, and he learns that displaced persons are allowed unrestricted movement within the American zone. On the other hand, the visitor, whether American or German, finds that he cannot enter the camp except on official business, a matter checked at the entrance by a Jewish policeman in a smart uniform with a Star of David on his cap.

At the entrance is a waist-high red-brick wall, obviously new, flanked by two pylons.

Set into one pylon is a memorial tablet to the 6,000,000 Jewish dead, civilian and military. In the other is a tablet expressing Jewish aspirations for the future. Crowning the pylons are statues of the Jew of the exile, bent by the Torah scrolls on his back, and of the *halutz* (pioneer), ramrod-straight, with a shovel at his shoulder.

The visitor enters the camp and walks through the cleanly swept streets. Men are moving about—many with a look of purpose, obviously about work. On a huge sport field set with goal posts, a group of boys is noisily playing soccer. In a little tree-shaded park, young women sit with infants in their arms.

As the visitor moves about, he notes the many garages and stables, some functioning as intended, others used as official warehouses, clubrooms, workshops, and even classrooms. Three-story, solid, stone buildings, streaked with green and buff camouflage, bear signs in Yiddish and English: "Herzl House," "Weizmann House," "Roosevelt House," "Balfour House," etc. These are the living quarters. Escorted by the "House Elder," a Jewish worker responsible for maintenance, sanitation, and distribution of firewood in each house, the visitor looks into the rooms. Most are very large, and he remembers that these buildings were designed as barracks. The single beds are built of new, but unpainted, slats. Bumpy, straw-filled burlap sacks serve as mattresses, and are covered by United States Army blankets. The visitor is taken aback by the number of beds in each room, and he is told that Army regulation allocates 36 square feet per individual, a standard he knows may be adequate for troop dormitories, but not for family living-quarters. In a room of about 450 square feet, he counts 16 beds instead of the 12 required by regulation. The House Elder explains that with some doubling up in the beds, there are actually 20 occupants in the room, and adds that although the camp is badly overcrowded, it was at one time last winter considerably worse. The impossibility of privacy is emphasized by the pathetic attempts of neighboring couples to place their high wooden clothes-lockers in such a way that, with a blanket strung on a rope, each has a tiny cubicle shut off from the eyes, at least, of the others. Into this recess is generally squeezed a small table and a few chairs for entertaining friends.

Chatting with occupants, the visitor is told that such overcrowding is a constant irritation, depriving one not only of privacy, but of self-respect as well. "A man," says one, "cannot always live in a crowd. In the concentration camp we also lived . . . and died . . . in a crowd." The overcrowding is to some extent voluntary, built up over the months by the arrival of long-separated kin, friends, and *landsleit*. With what may be called the "psychology of the lifeboat," refugee-newcomers are often accepted and squeezed in somehow, despite orders to the contrary.

Such overcrowding would be accepted as the inescapable condition of a people in flight except for one factor vehemently stressed by every occupant: "We don't mind overcrowding itself. But while we are crowded into barracks, twenty or thirty to a room, the Germans and even Nazi party-members in town are living in their own homes. Why can't we be assigned the houses in town until we leave, and have the Germans live in this camp they built for their own sons?" It was the same thought that led one Jewish leader to say: "It is better today to be a conquered German than a 'liberated' Jew."

Family cooking being impossible in barracks rooms, food is served in three large mess-halls, one of which is kosher. Emphatic comments are made about the quantity of food, which is calorically the minimum necessary for bodily activity, but is both physically and psychologically inadequate for people with a history of long starvation.

The strongest language is reserved for the deadly monotony of the diet, which has deteriorated steadily for the past year, until now all fresh foods—meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit—have been supplanted by a starchy diet of bread, potatoes, ersatz coffee, lentils, dehydrated vegetables, and a few shreds of Spam. The deficiencies in vitamins and in such essential elements as proteins, carbohydrates, and fats make for a grossly unbalanced diet, especially for growing, seriously stunted children and adolescents.

It is pointed out, further, that while the Germans officially get somewhat less food, the rich agricultural neighborhood insures that "unofficial" food sources are available to them. And even the official German ration provides a variety of fresh foods. Certainly, to the eye of the observer in the Bavarian

area, the Germans still give the appearance of being the best fed people in Europe.

And there is another factor. "This is the bitter bread of charity," one Jew said. "When will I again be able to buy my own bread and say to myself, 'I am a man again like all men. I am free—I earn my own bread!' We want nothing from the American government, or from the American Jews, generous as they have tried to be. Like you Americans, we want to help ourselves. This feeding makes us feel like prisoners and slaves."

It is apparent that the conditions of camp existence weigh heavily upon these stranded Jews. Yet, looked at another way, there is reassurance in this very fact, for it indicates how far they are from being reconciled to the dependent status of wards.

IMMEDIATELY after liberation and physical recovery, these Jews began the painful reconstruction of their lives. Destitute of family in most cases, the first step in the process was the establishment by each of a special patchwork type of kinship group. Incorporated in it, generally, are the few surviving distant kin, former *landsleit*, and, above all, concentration-camp "brothers." These relationships are so close and intense that they often provide administrative difficulties when overcrowding requires the redistribution of a group to other rooms or, worse, to other camps. These bonds combine characteristics of the strong Jewish family structure and the "blood-brotherhood" of the "buddies" relationships among American combat soldiers.

The next major step is the establishment of the family by marriage, early among the single people, relatively late among the widowed. Despite disheartening living conditions, children often follow quickly. Even for a population predominantly young adult, the birth rate is extraordinarily high. This does not reflect lack of knowledge about birth control. Rather, it can be explained by two factors: children are needed as pillars of a normal life; and the traditional high valuation placed upon children among Jews as a foundation for group survival has been still further heightened by the slaughter of almost an entire generation of Jewish children.

Perhaps only second in importance to the

re-establishment of kin and family groups is the recovery of productive work-skills. Since postwar Germany provides no appropriate economic framework for learning and practicing occupations, and, even if it did, the former victims of that economy would have nothing to do with it, the only alternative was to create an economic system in each camp. Despite persistent difficulties, such systems have slowly been built up. Since this aspect of Jewish camp life has been the particular focus of misunderstanding, it is necessary to clarify it in some detail.

Two facts must first be emphasized. First, work is voluntary in the Jewish camps—a humane policy, in view of the number of ailing and unemployable. Second, material incentives for work, beyond somewhat larger rations of food and amenities (cigarettes, soap, etc.), are not available. Despite the fact that there is little difference in the living conditions of worker and non-worker, and work is exclusively on a volunteer basis, there are in the Landsberg camp, for example, over 2,000 regular workers and young work-trainees in a population of 3,500 males of all ages.

What do they do? Within the camp proper, they prepare, cook, and serve meals to 5,500 people daily. They clean the streets, load and haul away refuse. They chop wood in the forest, haul, store, and distribute it for use in room-stoves. They repair plumbing and wiring, paint rooms, and construct new communal facilities. They haul supplies from distant cities, store them and distribute them. They man the camp's police, fire, and sanitary-inspection departments. They teach in the schools. They staff, nurse, and assist in the camp's out-patient and dental clinics, and in the model 200-bed hospital that they themselves set up in an empty barracks building. They drive and repair the camp's trucks and ambulances. They operate the camp post-office and numerous recreational facilities. They employ their skills in the camp's system of workshops—repairing furniture, shoes, and clothes, barbering, printing, painting signs, sewing women's house-dresses and men's caps. Finally, they perform clerical and supervisory functions in the camp's complex administrative apparatus.

All the services indispensable to maintenance of the life, health, order, and welfare of any normal town are performed exclu-

sively by camp residents, not merely because it is expected of them or out of necessity, but out of a sense of personal, social responsibility, a moral regard for work, and the normal drive to develop one's skills and talents for a better future. Camp facilities, in fact, are never sufficiently extensive to absorb all who desire work. In Landsberg, there are waiting-lists of those who have registered for employment of various types, but for whom there are no suitable places or equipment. If the machinery and materials could be secured, hundreds more could be employed in productive work. Indeed, plans are now maturing to secure equipment and raw materials for the establishment of factories in Jewish camps to employ thousands of skilled craftsmen.

How account, then, for the reports that have created in some quarters the false stereotype of the displaced Jews as drones? First of all, a camp economy such as Landsberg's is necessarily the result of protracted and dogged procurement and scrounging. A work program is impossible without equipment and materials, which are as difficult to secure in Germany as gold itself. It is not done in a day or a month.

A routine example of the obstacles involved and the efforts necessary to overcome them is provided by one Landsberg experience. The leaders decided that the entrance to the camp was unsightly and unworthy, and prepared plans for the handsome memorial wall and pylons previously described. The camp construction department, to which the plans were given for execution, had no bricks on hand, nor could any be secured because of German priority. Therefore, the brick lean-to's that protected the entrances to the camp's air-raid shelters were carefully dismantled. But to remove the encrusted cement from the bricks, a special type of tool was required. Again, such tools were not at hand or procurable—German priority. The camp machine-shop was asked to make them. But the salvaged metals on hand required, for this special purpose, forging with coke. And coke was not to be had. Nevertheless, after considerable search, the small amount necessary was procured, the tools were made, the bricks were prepared, and the memorial wall was built—after months of unflagging effort.

The steady growth of the Jewish population in Germany has necessitated the regular opening of new camps. New camps, given the barriers to the acquisition of necessary equipment, have always had a high proportion of idle hands.

A visitor pressed for time, or perhaps selecting evidence to prove a thesis, can look into a new camp briefly, find many people not at work, and draw the erroneous conclusion that they will not work. And even a fair-minded visitor cannot see the full magnitude of a camp's work activity, given the wide dispersal of workers within and without the camp locale. To my knowledge, there has yet to appear a newspaper or official report that does even partial justice to the large-scale and indispensable work going on as a routine part of life in the established camps.

Also contributing to the stereotype of the displaced Jew is the sensational newspaper treatment of black marketing in the camps. There is no denying that such activities exist. But it is a matter of elementary fairness to set the phenomenon in proper perspective. In the first place, no controlled, rationed economy operating under acute shortages of necessities has ever been free of clandestine trade. Nor are any elements now in occupied Germany immune to the temptations it offers. However, for the sake of completeness, it should be pointed out that among all elements so engaged, the displaced Jews, being largely destitute, have least to contribute to the commodities that are the traffic of the market. If all the displaced persons in Germany were resettled tomorrow, the traffic would be diminished in no important way.

In the Jewish camps, there are those who are actively and usefully employed, those who are waiting for work opportunities to open, those who, for physical reasons, are unemployable, and those who in varying degrees are involved in what is known as "speculation" or "trading." The last group requires understanding also. Left destitute materially, and warped psychologically, they have not been able to resist the temptation present on every hand to recover part of the capital stripped from them by Nazi Germany. But it is a testimony to the moral backbone of the displaced Jewish population as a whole that this group remains a small

minority, against whom camp leaders and workers have waged a persistent campaign.

Seeing the picture in the large, one learns to appreciate how all-pervasively the spirit of self-help and stubborn make-do has bulwarked camp existence. Without it, the camps would have disintegrated into anarchic disorder instead of operating as the bustling and orderly communities they are. The working force has made work the warp and woof of camp community life.

INTO this fabric of communal life in the Jewish camps have been woven variegated and vigorous motifs of cultural activity. Landsberg has a pre-school kindergarten, and a compulsory elementary school for children between six and sixteen. It has a technical high school, with more than 700 students receiving professional training as carpenters, machinists, electricians, radio technicians, shoemakers, ceramic technicians, bricklayers, tinsmiths, chauffeurs and auto mechanics, dress cutters, seamstresses, milliners, farmers, nurses, and dental mechanics. This school is transforming a whole generation of unskilled Jewish young people into skilled craftsmen. Its graduates are taking places in the camp economy, and have even become instructors in the technical schools recently opened in the newer camps.

Landsberg also has an evening adult-education program organized as a "People's University," with courses in history, literature, geography, elementary science, Hebrew, and English. Students number almost 500. Completing the camp's educational system is a yeshiva, with approximately fifty students preparing for the rabbinate.

Landsberg's Chaim Bialik Library, named for the great Hebrew poet, occupies what was formerly the conference room of the Wehrmacht commandant. With its chandelier, high draped windows, huge fireplace, and comfortable furniture "rescued" from a ruined castle, it is the only really attractive room in the camp. Gracing its walls are restful landscapes, and portraits by camp artists of Bialik, Sholom Aleichem, and two more recent figures—Roosevelt and Eisenhower. On its shelves are 2,000 books secured largely through JDC's library-service program, and on loan to camp workers. The library draws on the average about 1,000 visitors weekly.

It can be said that Landsberg's educational program, created originally by the camp residents themselves, with later assistance from such organizations as JDC, ORT, and UNRRA, is the peer of any available in most ordinary towns of comparable size. Nor can the scale of the achievement be fully appreciated without knowledge of the prodigies performed to secure the most elementary essentials—books, paper, pencils, blackboards, not to speak of the heavy equipment necessary for the technical school. Another handicap has been the shortage of room space, which compels the use of garages and warehouse lofts as classrooms.

In religious life, Landsberg presents a picture of schism. The trend toward secularization in religious outlook was already well advanced among the pre-war youth of East European Jewry. The Nazi ordeal—surprisingly or not—appears to have reinforced that trend. As a result, the community is sharply split into non-religious and religious groups. The latter are extreme in their orthodoxy, and are organized in a congregation of approximately 1,500 people. Though it is a minority, the religious group, with an alert rabbinical and lay leadership, is aggressive in enforcing general observance of the Sabbath, holidays, and other religious regulations. The schism rests, for the most part, on questions of emphasis—upon the letter of the Law, upon ritual or faith, upon divine or folk tradition, and so on.

MORE important than outside Yiddish newspapers, which arrive four to five weeks after publication, are Landsberg's own camp newspapers, written and printed locally. The *Landsberger Lager-Caytung* is a semiweekly newspaper, somewhat larger than tabloid in size, of sixteen to forty-eight pages. It carries international, Palestinian, American, local, and DP news, of both general and specifically Jewish reference. It includes political commentaries, literary pieces, historical articles on the war period, pictures of camp life, essays on health and hygiene, and a page of "seeking kin" items. Except for a page in Hebrew covering Zionist and Palestinian matters, it is written in Yiddish, with most pages set in roman type because of the shortage of Yiddish type. Circulation, reaching most of the Jewish camps in the

United States zone, is over 15,000, and would be considerably larger if more paper were available. Visitors have agreed that in the quality of its writing and editing, and the range of its contents, it is the equal of Yiddish newspapers published in America and Palestine.

Supplementing the *Lager-Caytung* is a journalistic innovation, an outdoor daily "wall newspaper" called the *Landsberger Szpigel*. It consists of two huge bulletin boards, laid out in the format of an eight-column newspaper, consisting, in effect, of four pages. Into the columns are set photographic exhibits, large cartoons, and type-written camp news and radio "flash" bulletins.

Completing Landsberg's information service is its "radio station," a public-address system that twice daily broadcasts music, international news of Jewish significance monitored by radio, and camp announcements of special importance. Programs are prepared by the *Szpigel's* staff. All in all, by their own energy and ingenuity, Jewish camp residents keep themselves as well informed of world and local developments as the citizens of any metropolis. A Truman-Bevin conference in the White House or a United Nations debate on the International Refugee Organization is a matter of common knowledge and general discussion the day after.

Landsberg's recreational facilities include two indoor cafés and a decorative outdoor café, where couples dance to the music of small camp orchestras. An outdoor tea-garden, under the shelter of trees, has been arranged for the older folk. Chess and ping-pong rooms draw many others. The camp *kino*, showing principally American films, gives two performances nightly to packed houses. On the rare occasions when a Yiddish film is shown, total attendance far exceeds the camp population, because many see the film more than once.

Landsberg's strikingly attractive 1,300-seat theater was converted from a huge, bare Wehrmacht parade-hall. The balcony and stage, of standard dimensions, were built from lumber secured by tearing down a cavalry stable. The reflectors in the foot-lights were hammered out of discarded tin cans, the lighting contrived from German army equipment, the curtain sewn together

from old stock and dyed maroon, the proscenium decorated by camp artists. Here the camp's drama group stages its periodic productions. Here the camp's orchestra and chorus, as well as visiting artists and musical ensembles, have given concerts. Here, also, are held general meetings, lectures, and all-zone Jewish conventions. The *Bet Yichud* (House for All), as it is called, is in the fullest sense a communal cultural center, in use almost every night of the week.

The keystone of the camp's recreational framework is its athletics program. In addition to athletic activities for children on all school levels, there are first and second adult teams in soccer, basketball, volley ball, boxing, swimming, track, and gymnastics. Centers for these activities are two sports fields and an ex-parade-hall gymnasium. All these teams compete in the Jewish camp leagues in the zone, and occasionally engage Jewish teams from the British zone as well as local American Army teams. The games are the focus of intense community spirit and draw thousands of spectators.

THE whole complex camp administrative system is headed by an executive body known as the Camp Committee, which is elected by the vote of all residents over the age of eighteen and is the prime force in the community structure. In the regular elections for a camp committee like Landsberg's, three principal political parties, all Zionist in orientation, contest for the places. On the Right, and least influential, is the Revisionist party. In the Center is the Unity party of Social-Democrats, with which the religious group is generally leagued. And on the Left (but definitely not Communist) is the Labor or Progressive party. In Landsberg, as in most Jewish camps, the committee has generally been a coalition with the centrist party predominating. Ideological differences, which reflect the politics of the Palestinian community, have generally been secondary to personalities in determining the results of an election. Campaigns are always spirited, with mass meetings, posters, and leaflets, and reach at their close a high pitch of partisanship. The right to democratic representation is one that the displaced Jews accept with pride and seriousness.

Around each of the political parties is clustered a complex of unofficial associations,

voluntary organizations that have significant functions in camp social life. The most important of these are the *kibbutzim*, pioneer youth organizations composed largely of orphans, and patterned after the cooperative agricultural settlements in Palestine. Each *kibbutz* has its own quarters in the camp, and its own mess, and operates under a scheduled regimen combining schooling and assigned work. The leaders of the *kibbutzim* are themselves young people out of the concentration camps, who serve, in effect, as fathers and mothers to groups of children and adolescents ranging in number from 50 to 250.

These youngsters have for years been without parental influence or schooling of any kind. They are stunted three to four years in physical growth, wise beyond their years, though often illiterate, precocious in some psychological respects and retarded in others, especially in social discipline. The close fraternal bonds of the *kibbutz* group, and the firm hand of its leaders, are slowly restoring them to normal, as perhaps no other kind of organization could do. (The various *kibbutzim* have swept up and recovered thousands of orphaned children from all corners of the Continent, from peasant homes, monasteries, city streets, and forests.)

To facilitate the processes of re-education, the *kibbutzim* have adopted boy-scout methods. Marching, with their distinctive khaki shorts and white shirts, their Jewish and *kibbutz* flags, and their spirited singing, they are one of the most colorful of camp sights. And by their discipline, high morality, and morale, they act as a steady influence on the adults.

In Landsberg, there are eight *kibbutz* groups with a total membership of approximately 800. Three of these groups are quartered outside the camp on farm installations, where they are trained in agricultural and allied crafts for pioneer life in Palestine.

APOLL early in 1946 revealed that approximately 15 per cent of the Landsberg population listed the United States as their first choice for a place of resettlement, with the primary motive, understandably, reunion with kin. Since that time, there are indications that the proportion has grown somewhat, a trend halted only by the dis-

couraging fact that President Truman's directive to facilitate DP immigration to the United States is plainly not being implemented.

In the same poll, approximately 80 per cent declared Palestine as their resettlement choice. Those in this group had during their final weeks in the concentration camps nursed dreams of migration to Palestine immediately after liberation. Detention in Germany—in camps, again—was their first blow. President Truman's statement in August 1945 recommending admission of 100,000 displaced Jews to Palestine renewed their hopes of an early release. Nine months more of growing impatience and perplexity went by as the British continued to block immigration, until in May 1946 the Report of the Anglo-American Committee seemed sure evidence that deliverance was near. Now, nearly two years after liberation, they see their fate still in the balance.

These long months, as this account has indicated, have been turned to remarkably constructive use. Almost every aspect of the community system they have built is the result of a determination to undo the past and build for the future. One of the inscriptions on Landsberg's memorial wall reads: *The Landsberg Jewish Center is the corridor where we work and learn in preparation for the blessed day when we shall march through this gateway to our promised land—Eretz Yisrael.*

Before the war, Palestine was a personal goal for relatively few of the displaced Jews. The war was the catalyst for conversion. As one Landsberger expressed it: "We Jews in Galut have always been insecure. But we never suspected the potentialities of that insecurity until we saw them written out in the blood and ashes of our wives, children, and brothers. We have learned the lesson. We want no more of Galut."

These Jewish survivors cannot forget the slaughter and their complete helplessness against it. They feel that only in the Jewish homeland will they find the security and the strength to insure against a repetition. With its elementary survival value, therefore, Palestine has become a *sine qua non*, an irresistible goal. But blocking their way to that goal stands a still immovable obstacle. This produces what experimental psychologists often call "a classical frustration situation."

In compensation, the displaced Jews in the camps have poured their newly released energies into the reconstruction of their personal and social lives for "the blessed day" when they will depart for their goal. As time passes and the obstacle seems to grow and the goal to recede, these energies begin to shift themselves and hammer at the obstacle. As a result, since this summer in particular, frustration in the Jewish camps has been accumulating apace, intensified by the collapse of the promises held out by the seemingly definitive Anglo-American Committee Report.

To a psychologist, the camp's communal and cultural institutions came to be seen as a kind of behavioral facade, behind which ran progressively deepening currents of bewilderment, depression, despair, and fear of abandonment to a limbo existence as "stateless, homeless, rejected living-dead in this bloody graveyard." The anxious question asked repeatedly was: "What will become of us?" As a result of this blockage, some are now willing to accept migration "anywhere—as long as it's out of Germany and Europe." The final stages in the frustration experiments of psychologists are random flight followed by breakdown.

SUCH currents must be seen against the background of one more set of facts, namely, the deep psychic damage suffered as the result of experiences in the concentration camps and Nazi ghettos. The symptoms form a constellation almost identical with that prevalent among combat soldiers and labeled "combat fatigue" by American military psychiatrists, but also generally referred to as "war shock."

Among the symptoms found in varying degrees of intensity and somewhat different individual combinations in both displaced Jews and disabled American combat personnel are: excessive perspiration of face and extremities; disturbed sleep—insomnia, somnambulism, nightmare; impaired memory—partial or total amnesia for extreme events and periods of the war, and occasional defective recall of recent events; reduced capacity for mental concentration and application; irritability, sensitivity, restlessness, and impatience—necessity for action and movement; spells of depression and withdrawal.

The genesis of this condition among dis-

placed Jews and disabled soldiers is fundamentally the same: repeated exposure to catastrophic danger in situations of individual helplessness that induce overwhelming anxiety and nervous shock. Further, as one medical authority states, the appearance of war shock "in most cases does not occur under the sudden impact of one catastrophic accident, but after the protracted accumulation of traumatic influences—certainly, physical and emotional exhaustion are predisposing factors for a soldier's breakdown in war."

Concentration-camp prisoners were far more defenseless against SS brutality than American bomber crews against German interception. After enough "close calls," the normal individual in either case might find his nervous system disabled by traumatic "overloading." Although the surviving Jews were exposed to situations of mortal danger for a far longer period, and had fewer channels of response to it than had combat personnel, the precipitating incident for the latter was often more explosive. This may account for my observation that while the incidence of war shock was far higher among Jewish survivors than among American combat personnel, the shock condition on the whole reached a less acute stage in the Jewish survivors than among the combat men. I must stress the fact that this observation refers to the surviving Jews, because it is not improbable that prisoners in more advanced stages of nervous shock were summarily executed. It may be presumed, therefore, that only the sturdiest individuals could have survived.

In the Jewish and military war-shock groups, symptoms and precipitating factors were similar. Similar therapy, therefore, would be indicated for cases in comparable stages of severity. While the details of the American Army's therapeutic program for the milder cases need not be elaborated here, its underlying principle is relevant and may be stated, somewhat simplified, in the following terms: provision of a normal, sympathetic environment, free of strain and anxiety, which allows the individual's own resources free rein to effect recuperation.

How does this principle apply to the Jews in the DP camps? Their community creation, on the one hand, is an excellent

example of recuperative resources in action, and the community institutions have secondarily provided the social framework for further self-help and self-cure activities. On the other hand, for all the communal facade, their situation remains abnormal, laden with a heavy weight of anxieties and strains from six distinct sources:

1. These people are largely middle-class in background, and they share the American middle-class attitude toward charity as a form of parasitism. Their dependent status injures their self-respect and accentuates their depressive and anxiety tendencies.

2. Their subsistence is considerably below their needs, giving rise to constant insecurity, irritation, and a feeling of deprivation and degradation.

3. The example of those who profit conspicuously by illegal trade, set against their own acute physical needs, induces conflicts that drain their stamina and undermine their resolve.

4. They are enclaved among the Germans, whom they hold collectively responsible for Nazism and regard, with some reason, as still Nazi-minded; their underlying apprehensions about the Germans are revealed in the remark: "if the Americans were to leave today, we would all be dead by morning." Also, they have seen that in the eyes of American military personnel their status as "camp inmates" has fallen lower, while that of the Germans has been rising rapidly and ominously; the Meader Report to the Senate War Investigating Committee, with its reckless use of hearsay and impressions, was a particularly cruel and devastating climax to this trend.

5. They are haunted by the feeling that their time is running out, that the waste in their lives continues without end. "The war broke our lives in 1939, and now seven years later the war is still not over for us alone. 'How long, oh Lord, how long?'"

6. Their drive to get to Palestine or the United States, into a congenial environment where they might find security and peace to effect their self-cure, has been blocked for almost two years. Together with this frustration, their uncertainties and fears for the future have been proliferating.

All six factors in combination grind away slowly and inexorably on even the strongest characters. Under such abnormal circum-

stances, even psychologically healthy people would in time be worn down. But these are people still suffering in varying degrees from war shock, and their anxieties and tensions, instead of being lightened to allow self-recovery, have been heavily exacerbated and multiplied. As a result, their psychic wounds are not only not being healed, but are actually being aggravated. The camp communal organizations have been a vital counterforce without which there would have been mass psychological disintegration, but they obviously constitute a structure built upon an environmental morass. It has slowed, but not reversed or even halted the pressures upon the processes of deterioration. There is evidence suggesting a prognosis of acceleration in these processes. After fourteen months without a single nervous breakdown in Landsberg, three occurred in rapid succession during my last two weeks in the camp. Since that time, there has been a report, which I have been unable to verify as yet, of a wave of suicides in the Jewish camps.

Speedy resettlement of the displaced Jews is thus not merely a matter of justice for allies who have suffered most at the hands of the common enemy, and who morally deserve far better at our own hands than detention in former German military camps. More important, only such resettlement will save these people from further irreparable injury, blight, and disaster.*

In my opinion, to allow the present slow rot of the DP camps—against which their inmates are increasingly defenseless—to continue its course is to be accessory to a form of genocide. The DP camps are destroying the extraordinary capacities of these people for psychic recovery much as the concentration camps destroyed their bodies. By obstructing their removal and resettlement, the Western democracies will be committing, more slowly but *against the same people*, the substance of the crime that at Nuremberg they pinned with overwhelming detail of evidence on the perverted master-architects of Nazism.

The displaced Jews themselves are clear

about the alternatives. As one of them said to me in bidding me farewell: "Tell our American and English friends that if we are not freed from here soon, they might as well start re-stoking the crematoria for us!"

If this crime is not to be consummated, there must be an immediate, aroused call to forthright action. What practical lines should such action follow?

Although the needs of the displaced Jews are the most acute, the problem embraces all displaced persons. The solution must accordingly be framed inclusively, although with due regard for the special requirements of the Jews.

At this remove from V-E Day, it is highly improbable that voluntary repatriation to any significant degree will still occur. Since the throwing of the displaced persons upon the German economy is also ruled out on fundamental moral grounds, the only remaining alternative is *resettlement for all*.

Resettlement of 1,000,000 people a year was no problem in the free immigration period before World War I. With the present almost universal restrictions to immigration, it is a political problem only, although one of international dimensions. To expect the various nations unilaterally to admit displaced persons in adequate numbers is to be unrealistic to an extreme. So dark is the outlook, indeed, that the *New York Times* could recently report under a Lake Success date line: "No solution of the problem except providing for a considerable part of the refugees and DP's for the rest of their lives, is seen by competent sources. Whether the refugee camps established by UNRRA will be continued for another generation is an unsolved question." This statement reflects a crass, callous, and imaginatively paralyzed acceptance of the displaced persons as lifelong, institutionalized pauper-pariahs.

To be sure, temporary liberalization of immigration quotas on the part of the United States has been urged by President Truman and many others, both to offer a small contribution to the solution and to "lead the way for other countries." But, at the time of writing, all signs indicate it will be touch-and-go whether Congress approves the proposal. And even should Congress approve, there is no certainty that other countries will follow. Therefore, unless the attempt to

* "It is plain that to continue indefinitely to support [the displaced persons] camps is not a solution of the problem and is, in fact, an injury to [the displaced persons]."—From the statement of the Catholic Bishops of the United States on *Man and the Peace*.

solve the problem is to be abandoned altogether, the remaining alternative is to treat it as the international problem that it is, by the established methods of international conference.

Since the International Refugee Organization lacks the necessary authority, the United Nations should hold a resettlement conference to which would be called all nations economically and culturally capable of absorbing DP immigrants. All the countries of Western Europe, the Middle East, the British Commonwealth, and North and South America, would be included.

This conference would seek an agreement establishing the proportion of the total DP population each nation would accept, which should be determined by such national differentials as population, area, and economic capacity. The quota fixed for each nation could be received over a period of twenty-four to thirty-six months. Thus, the DP population would be spread equitably without burden on any one country. The increments would average approximately one-fifth of one percent (.002) of the present population of each country. The IRO would assume full responsibility for execution of the mass migration and would bear the costs of transportation and, where necessary, of settlement. It is obvious that such costs would be no more than a fraction of those involved in indefinite international maintenance of the DP camps.

THE following selective principles and priorities might be applied in organizing the migration:

1. Palestine to accept 100,000 Jews from the camps, to be followed by the 45,000 Jewish orphans on the continent, but not in camps.

2. The remaining 175,000 refugee Jews to be absorbed as 17.5 per cent of the quota of each sharing nation.

3. The DP's of other nationalities to be similarly represented in the quota of each sharing nation in a proportion equivalent to that of each DP nationality in the total DP population. Thus Poles, who number ap-

proximately 400,000 of the total DP population of 1,000,000, would constitute 40 per cent of the quota of each receiving country.

4. Preferences of individual displaced persons as to countries of choice for resettlement to be respected so far as is possible within the quotas set. Should a country be "oversubscribed" by a given DP nationality, then those DP's with kin in that country would receive first priority, and concentration-camp victims second.

5. All DP immigrants to be accorded United Nations citizenship and passports. Thereby, those who migrate to countries other than their choice would be free subsequently to re-emigrate upon acceptance by country of choice.

6. Priority for order of migration to be accorded concentration-camp victims, regardless of creed, and persecutees.

Only by concerted international action along such general lines can there be hope of quickly relieving the displaced persons from the doom of a life sentence in the camps, and of lifting a heavy weight of guilt from the world's conscience.

The injustice of the enforced detention of 1,000,000 war victims in the displaced-persons camps continues not by intent but by international default arising from the inertia of individual nations. National inertia, in turn, derives from the inertia of individual citizens. Ultimate responsibility, therefore, rests squarely upon each of us.

If belated justice is to be done, it must be initiated by each of us implementing our good will with the actions that are both the privilege and the duty of alert and free citizens. We need only speak out to our government, calling for international action on behalf of the oppressed. Established channels for such expressions are civic and religious organizations, and communications to the President and to our senators and congressional representatives. An aroused and articulate public opinion will not be denied.

A million human lives are at stake. Also at stake are our own professed humane and democratic standards.

FROM MARXISM TO JUDAISM

Jewish Belief as a Dynamic of Social Action

WILL HERBERG

UNTIL nine or ten years ago, I was a thoroughgoing Marxist. I had spent most of my life in the radical movement, and Marxism was to me more than a mere strategy of political action, more than a program of economic and social reconstruction, more even than a comprehensive theory of history and society. Marxism was to me, and to others like me, a religion, an ethic, and a theology: a vast, all-embracing doctrine of man and the universe, a passionate faith endowing life with meaning, vindicating the aims of the movement, idealizing its activities, and guaranteeing its ultimate triumph. In the certainty of this faith, we felt we could stand against the world.

It was a faith committed to freedom, justice, and brotherhood as ultimate ideals and supreme values. But it was also a faith

that staked everything on the dogma of Progress, that is, on the unlimited redemptive power of history. Through its own inherent energies, the materialist Dialectic of history would sooner or later solve every problem, fulfill every possibility, and eliminate every evil of human life, leading mankind through terrific struggles to a final perfection of uncoerced harmony amidst peace, plenty, and untroubled happiness.

The motive power of this redemptive process of history the Marxist metaphysic found in economics. Man's essence was economic, the root of his frustrations and miseries was economic, and his salvation would be economic as well. "Economic development" was the invincible power that in the last analysis determined everything, and in the final outcome would bring the processes of history to consummation and fulfillment: it was the invisible god of the Marxist faith.

But this invisible god operated through visible instrumentalities, through economic classes. The proletariat was the savior of humanity, and the class struggle the engine of salvation. From this conception emerged a system of ethics that I found increasingly untenable. Marxism, it is true, did not admit to possessing an ethical system; it prided itself on its "scientific" character, and scornfully rejected all moral imperatives. But in fact it followed an extreme moral relativism, according to which good and evil were constituted by a shifting class interest.

Whatever served the "interest of the proletariat" was good; whatever ran counter to it was evil. Everything, literally everything, was permitted if only it promoted the "proletarian class struggle." But the proletariat could attain self-consciousness only in its "vanguard party," so that in the end the

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interest of the proletariat really amounted to the interest of the party. Party interest—power for the party and its leaders—thus became the ultimate, indeed the only criterion of right and wrong.

This ethic of power was very conveniently justified by faith in the redemptive power of history operating through the Dialectic. The Dialectic prescribed the course of world history and to Marx, as to Hegel, *Weltgeschichte* was *Weltgericht*. Only world history could decide who was really right and since world history was bound to decide in our favor, everything we might do to promote the success of our cause—that is, of our party—was justified in advance. Ultimately, the only true moral agent was power, for only power could claim a hearing before the bar of world history.

Such was the faith by which we lived and fought. And so long as this faith remained unchallenged from within, no attacks from without could shake it. Doubts were ignored or else drowned in action.

BUT reality could not be forever withheld. I do not know what is the secret mechanism by which subconscious processes which have been going on for years are suddenly precipitated into consciousness under the impact of some great event. In my case, it was the course of the Russian Revolution and the development of events in Europe, culminating in the triumph of Hitler, that had this effect. Put to the test, the Marxist faith failed. It proved itself incapable of explaining the facts or sustaining the values that gave meaning to life, the very values it had itself enshrined as its own ultimate goals. It could not meet the challenge of totalitarianism because it was itself infected with the same disease. By the logic of its own development, the ideal of unlimited freedom had become the reality of unlimited despotism. The individual personality, instead of being liberated for self-fulfillment, as Marx and Lenin had promised, was being engulfed in a total collectivism that left no room whatever for personal autonomy. Sacrificial dedication to the welfare of humanity had given

way to narrow, ruthless, self-defeating power politics.

It was this latter point perhaps that told most. The disastrous corrosions and corruptions of the Marxist movement in politics seemed to me clearly a reflection of its lack, or rather of its rejection, of an ethic transcending the relativities of power and class interest, and the lack of an adequate ethic to be the result of a radically false religion.

Not that I felt myself any the less firmly committed to the great ideals of freedom and social justice. My discovery was that I could no longer find basis and support for these ideals in the materialistic religion of Marxism. On the contrary, it seemed to me that in its philosophy and ethics Marxism went far toward destroying the very objectives it was presumably out to achieve. I felt intensely the need for a faith that would better square with my ideal, which in tenor, doctrine, and spirit could give impulse and direction to the radical reconstruction of society which I so deeply desired.

For this Marxist religion itself, it now became clear to me, was in part illusion, and in part idolatry; in part a delusive utopianism promising heaven on earth in our time, and in part a totalitarian worship of collective man; in part a naive faith in the finality of economics, and in part a sinister fetishism of technology and material production; in part a sentimental optimism as to the goodness of human nature, and in part a hard-boiled, amoral cult of power at any price. There could be no question to my mind that as religion, Marxism had proved itself bankrupt.

With Marxism went the entire naturalistic outlook as it affects the nature and destiny of man. I began to see that though man is undeniably part of nature and remains embedded within it, he quite as undeniably transcends it by virtue of his spirit, by virtue of his reason, his imagination, and his moral freedom. I began to see new meaning in the poignant words of Bertrand Russell, himself an uncompromising naturalist, describing man's paradoxical status in nature:

A strange mystery it is that nature, omnipotent but blind, has brought forth at last a child, subject still to her power but gifted with sight, with knowledge of good and evil, with the capacity of judging all the works of his unthinking mother . . . Man is yet free, during his brief years, to examine, to criticize, to know, and in imagination, to create. To him alone, in the world with which he is acquainted, this freedom belongs, and in this lies his superiority to the restless forces that control his outer life.

These were the words of a great naturalist philosopher, but naturalism had so far not succeeded in explaining or building on this paradox. And so naturalism seemed to me bound in the end to fail to satisfy any one who demanded something better than the narrow and paltry conception of human life and destiny it offered.

THE conclusion I reached as the final outcome of the long and painful process of reorientation was that neither man nor his fate could be understood in terms of an outlook that limited itself to the two-dimensional plane of nature and history, that the ultimate meaning of human life was to be found in a dimension transcending both and yet relevant to both—in a dimension that, in the most genuine sense of the term, was *supernatural*.

To suggest the process by which I and perhaps others found our way out of Marxist materialism and power-worship, I will paraphrase the words used recently in derision by a well-known writer, himself an unreconstructed Marxist, to describe an experience in some ways very like my own. In trying to discover what went wrong with economics—he says—they (that is, people like me) came to politics; but politics revealed that it was tainted and so they strove to cure the taint of politics with ethics; but ethics alone could not withstand the taint either, and so they went on finally to religion.

These are scoffing words, but they are not without their truth. I found in religion what I sought: and that was not an escape from social responsibility, but a more secure spiritual groundwork for a mature and effec-

tive social radicalism. The calamitous schism that had so long divided socialism from religion seemed to me to be at last coming to an end: in the profound insights and spiritual resources of religion, socialism would find a philosophy and a dynamic far superior to the shallow materialism that had led it so woefully astray. In short, I came to the conclusion that by abandoning the Marxist metaphysic in favor of a positive religious affirmation, I was becoming a better socialist and, if I may venture the paradox, even a better Marxist, taking Marxism in terms of its best insights and ultimate ideals. For the great contributions of Marxism were, it seemed to me, in the fields of economic understanding, social thought, and political action. And these could best be conserved, I now saw, within the framework, not of a shallow materialism, but of a profound religion that would give full recognition to the transcendent aspects of man's *nature* and destiny.

In my particular case, finding my way to religion meant finding my way to Judaism. Was this a return or in reality a first encounter? I cannot tell. But I can tell, I think, what it was that I discovered in essential Judaism that came to me as a revelation in my perplexities. If I now describe it in entirely intellectualistic terms, I hope it will not be concluded that I ignore or deny the devotional, mystical, and ritual elements that are so vital to any true religious experience. I limit myself to the intellectual, one might say theological, aspect because that has been foremost in my thinking and has had greater meaning for me in the solution of my own perplexities.

I. God and man: The very heart of Judaism, it seems to me, is its magnificent conception of the Deity. It is a conception at once profound and paradoxical: a God transcendent, yet working in life and history, infinite yet personal, a God of power, justice, and mercy, but above all a holy God. The worship of a holy God who transcends all relativities of nature and history, as Reinhold Niebuhr has pointed out, saves the soul from

taking satisfaction in any partial performance, curbs self-righteousness, and instills a most wholesome humility which gives man no rest in any achievement, no matter how high, while a still higher level of achievement is possible. The worship of a holy and transcendent God who yet manifests himself in history saves us alike from the shallow positivism that leaves nature and history and life all without ultimate meaning, from a pantheism that in the end amounts to an idolatrous worship of the world, and from a sterile other-worldliness that breaks all connection between religion and life. The worship of a holy and transcendent God who is the one God of the universe, besides whom there is no other, saves us, finally, from the many debasing idolatries that are bedeviling mankind today.

The Scriptural doctrine of God, as I read it, is also a doctrine of man. For man is created "in the image of God": that is his glory but also his inescapable responsibility. The Biblical doctrine seems to me to hinge upon a dramatic tension both in the nature of man and in his relations with God. On the one hand (*Psalms 8:5*), man is "but little lower than the angels"; on the other (*Genesis 8:21*), "the inclination of man's heart is evil from his childhood." In this I see no contradiction, but rather a profound insight into the paradoxical, the ambivalent nature of man. It is an insight that does justice both to his grandeur and to his misery, both to his capacity to transcend self in righteousness, reason, and loving-kindness and to the inescapable limits of self-transcendence because of the irreducible egotism of his nature.

The Scriptural conception of man thus refuses to countenance either the fatuous optimism of the Rousseauistic doctrine of the natural goodness of man or the dismal pessimism of the ultra-Calvinist doctrine of his utter depravity. It is at once more realistic and more complex, for it sees both sides in their coexistence and conflict, in their state of eternal struggle out of which is generated that tragic sense of life which is the mark of every high religion. But it

is a sense of tragedy that is never final, for with God all things are possible.

The same dialectic tension that converts the human soul into the field of a battle never won, yet always within reach of victory, is to be found in another form in the relations between God and man. "Everything is in the power of Heaven except the fear of Heaven," the sages tell us. "God in his providence determines beforehand what a man shall be and what shall befall him but not whether he shall be righteous or wicked." We need not take even this partial determinism too literally to see the profound significance of the uncompromising insistence on man's freedom of will. Evil is the result not of the forces of nature or of the promptings of the flesh: that is a Greek-Oriental notion which has had a most unfortunate effect upon our popular moral outlook. Both nature and the flesh are good in themselves, for did not God create both and find them good? Evil is rooted in man's spiritual freedom and consists in the wrong use of that freedom, in sinful disobedience to God.

I find this conception, which as far as I know is unique to Judaism and the religions that derive from it, the only adequate foundation for a significant moral life. It does justice alike to man's creaturely subjection to the moral law as the law of God and to his self-determination as a free moral agent. It combines freedom and responsibility in a synthesis that no philosophy has been able to transcend.

II. Man and society: If there is one strain that has run through Judaism from the earliest codes to the present day, it is the passion for social justice. No modern attack upon economic exploitation can equal in earnestness and power the denunciations of the Prophets against those who "grind down the faces of the poor." No modern warning against the evils of authoritarianism is so arresting as the words of Samuel rebuking the people of Israel for desiring to subject themselves to the yoke of kingship.

But even more important, it seems to me,

is the fact that the Scriptural doctrine relating man to God provides the only really adequate groundwork for the ideals of freedom and equality, as well as the only fully realistic justification of democracy in political and economic life.

At bottom, the affirmation of the freedom of the individual person can be grounded in nothing less ultimate than the belief that he is created in the image of God and is therefore a being in comparison with whom all of the non-human world is as nothing in worth. It is the belief in the eminent dignity of the human personality—in other words, in the infinite value of the individual human soul. This has received its modern formulation in the Kantian teaching that every man is an end in himself, and is not to be used as a mere means or tool for some external purpose. In the same way, the affirmation of human equality cannot be grounded in empirical fact; it can be grounded in nothing less ultimate than the belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. For men are equal not in power or wisdom or beauty or goodness, but in their spiritual essence, in the infinite worth of their individual souls, in their relation to God. It is this equal relation to God, it seems to me, that alone can serve as the ultimate criterion of human relations. True understanding of this principle—of the value and significance of human personality—came to the world for the first time with the Prophetic insistence on the spiritual autonomy and moral responsibility of the individual person.

The Scriptural insight into the ambivalent nature of man makes for a clear and realistic view of power and government. Power of man over man is intrinsically evil, for it involves the subjection of some men to others, the violation of their God-given personal autonomy, *and by that much their enslavement*. Power, moreover, has its own logic of expansion and corruption: it corrupts the wielder as well as those upon whom it is wielded, feeding the pride and arrogance of the one, and instilling a slavish spirit of subserviency in the other. Yet power

is necessary, because man's "inclination to evil"—that is, his egotism and self-centeredness—makes coercion at some point necessary in order to protect society from the centrifugal forces of individual and group self-interest. The recognition of power as an inescapable necessity, and yet as a corrupting influence, endows social life with the same sense of tension and pathos that we have noted in the spiritual life of the individual. The moral law, which is embattled in every human soul, is also imperiled, and at least partially thwarted, in every transaction in the world.

It is out of this keen sense of the perils of power, so strikingly absent in traditional Marxism, that democracy grows. For democracy is at bottom an institutional system for the control of power in the interests of freedom and social welfare. It is predicated on the conviction that no man possesses sufficient imagination, wisdom, or virtue to make him a safe repository of the interests of others—that no man is good enough or wise enough to be entrusted with absolute power over his fellow-men. This is a principle that applies not only to politics but to economics as well, where it serves as the starting point of democratic socialism, as well as of all other programs of economic reform in the interests of social justice. Democracy is, in effect, a dynamic reconciliation on the social level of man's grandeur and misery, of his eminent dignity as a person and his perennial inclination to sinfulness as manifested in the egoistic self-assertion of power.

Judaism, as I see it, is the sworn foe of the totalitarian state in its claim to absolute control over the individual and all his activities. Unconditional obedience to a universal and transcendent God precludes the possibility of total and absolute subjection to any earthly power. Earthly powers making such claims are usurpers and pretenders to the prerogatives of Deity. They are to be resisted to the bitter end. "For unto Me are the children of Israel slaves," says the Talmud; "they are not slaves unto slaves."

The profound insights of Scriptural re-

ligion reveal a logic of social action that escapes the pitfalls alike of power-mad cynicism, secular utopianism, and other-worldly quietism. As against the cynicism that recognizes no rule but power, Judaism vindicates the validity and relevance of the moral law, however impossible it may be to live up to it fully in any given situation. As against other-worldly quietism, it raises the witness of the Prophets and the duty to one's neighbor. As against the secular utopianism, whether liberal or Marxist, which hopes to achieve perfection within history, it stresses the inescapable relativities of this world and places the grand consummation to come at the *end* of time rather than within it.

It is here that the uncompromising monotheism, the abhorrence of idolatry that distinguish Judaism are, to my thinking, so relevant. The modern world is full of the most obscene idolatries—idolatries of race, of class, of society, of the state, of dictators, of science, even of ideologies. It is most vital to emphasize, as Judaism does, that faith cannot be placed, finally and unreservedly, in any person, institution, or order of this world. To do so would be not only to invite inevitable disillusionment; what is worse, it would be to destroy even the partial good embodied in the person, institution, or order thus idolatrously worshipped. By attempting to exalt a relative into an absolute good, we can but convert it into a total evil. Faith and worship can rest finally and unreservedly only in the transcendent, the ultimate, the absolute, in the one true God; all other faith must be partial, tentative, and provisional at best.

The insights into the nature and destiny of man revealed in Scriptural religion supply a dynamic as well as a logic of moral action. For it discloses how the ideal standards of the moral law, though impossible of achievement amidst the intractable forces in man and society, are yet directly pertinent to life in their function as transcendent principles of aspiration, judgment, and action. It is this tension between the immediate relevance, and yet ultimate impossibility of the absolute

imperatives of the moral law, that generates the dynamic of moral action in social as well as in individual life.

III. Israel and the world: On this question, I speak with great reluctance and hesitancy, for who can penetrate the mystery of Israel? A sociologist of our time, Carl Mayer, has given it as his verdict that:

The Jewish problem is ultimately inexplicable. . . . It can be stated, described, and analyzed insofar as its external manifestations are concerned, but it cannot be explained. . . . The Jewish problem in its fundamental aspects appears to be of such a character as to transcend human understanding, and thus essentially belongs to a sphere which is open only to faith. . . .

Judaism is embodied and incarnated in a people which is not a race or a nation or even a religious group in the usual sense of the term. "The Jewish people," says the sociologist I have just quoted, "represent a sociologically *unique* phenomenon and defy all attempts at general definition." The mystery of Israel is one that escapes all categories of nature and society.

This, it is my conviction, is true of Israel, its history, and its scriptures. The history of Israel is not simply the history of an ethnic or cultural or religious group, but in truth a providential history that reveals God's ways with men in a sense in which the history of no other people does. The holy books produced by the Jews are not simply part of the sacred writings of the peoples of the world: they are the word of God in a way in which the holy books of no other people are. In what way I could not define, but that they are so I cannot but believe.

What I have been saying amounts to an affirmation of the age-old doctrine that Israel is a chosen people. As I read Scripture and history, Israel was chosen both for a mission and for suffering; indeed, the two are probably two sides of the same thing. I believe that Israel was chosen to be a "light unto the nations," to bring the highest reaches of the moral law to the peoples of the world. The exile and dispersion came not as pun-

ishment of Israel but as an opportunity to spread the word of God to the four corners of the earth. But the mission thus entrusted to Israel creates a tension between Israel and the world: Israel remains *in* the world but is not entirely *of* it. "Like an activating ferment . . . [Judaism] gives the world no peace. It bars slumber. It teaches the world to be discontented and restless as long as the world has not God. It stimulates the movement of history." Thus speaks the Christian philosopher, Jacques Maritain. For the sake of this, Israel must undergo persecution, humiliation, agonies of pain and death. Bringing God to the world, Israel must suffer the hatred and resentment of the world against God and his law. Israel as the Chosen People is Israel the Suffering Servant of the Lord, of whom it is written in the words of Isaiah: "He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

The message of Israel is universal. The Jews, it has been acutely pointed out, are "an ethic group with a universal religious faith which transcends the values of a single people but which they are forced to use as an instrument of survival in an alien world." This is the irony of Jewish existence: devotion to a universal faith marks off the Jews as a "peculiar" people, a "chosen people," and only too often, an "accursed" people! Where this will end, when this will end, is a mystery within the greater mystery of Israel.

These are the things I must think of when I think of my faith as a Jew. And I must add that I am among those who see fundamental spiritual kinship rather than opposition between Judaism and at least the more Hebraic forms of Christianity. Indeed, I find that many of what I conceive to be crucial Jewish insights are illuminated rather than obscured when viewed in the light of the development they have undergone in Christian doctrine. I therefore believe that whatever significant differences there may be between Judaism and Christianity considered as total systems, there is real and vital meaning in the idea of a Judeo-Christian

religious tradition basically distinct from all other religions of the world.

THINKING about religion, so I have found, is no easy way of arriving at simple solutions. It is not a refuge from reality but a challenge to realistic thinking. It means an endless grappling with problems that are never fully solved. In the course of my reorientation, I have encountered perplexities that I was not even aware of before. What is the ultimate meaning of the ritual observances so central to the Jewish tradition? How are we to distinguish their transient historical from their eternal religious aspect? Or the existing Jewish community, how is it related to, yet distinguished from, the spiritual community of Israel? And what are the implications of the universality of Judaism? At various times in its history, Judaism was an expansive force. Will it ever become such again, or is its expansive role at an end since the rise of Christianity and Islam?

Some of these questions will undoubtedly be answered by time, experience, and increased understanding on my part. But other problems will surely arise in their place. Nor is any answer ever likely to be final or conclusive, for in questions of such ultimacy, it seems to me, inquiry must end in an irreducible mystery at the heart of things.

For all my uncertainties, however, there is one remark, or rather plea, I would venture to make. It is an appeal for a renewal of Jewish theology. I have lately been reading Dr. Solomon Zeitlin's book, *Disciples of the Wise*, which professes to detail the social and religious opinions of American rabbis, as expressed in answers to a questionnaire. One cannot but be gratified at the advanced views on social and economic questions of the rabbis. But it would be difficult to feel the same gratification at the general state of their theological views. According to Dr. Zeitlin, the group of nearly 250 rabbis "as a whole, as well as the several wings, is divided between the acceptance of the concept of salvation as (a) achievement of an integrated personality, and (b)

participation in efforts for social progress." Thus religion is conceived either as a kind of inexpert psychotherapy or else as an auxiliary social reform agency. In one case as in the other, it seems entirely secondary, and as such, can claim no significant place in modern life. Have we really come to the pass where such profound and tradition-laden words as salvation can mean nothing more; where (to take another example from the study) sin is conceived exclusively in such shallow external terms as "harm to neighbors, friends and business associates; harm to society; support of accepted institutions which are socially harmful"; or where (to take still another example) prayer is interpreted entirely in subjectivistic and sociological terms? I cannot believe it. For this would mean that Judaism has been reduced to nothing more than routine observances and a somewhat emotionalized social ethic. Surely Judaism has not yet come to this pass. What we are witnessing,

I think, is the gradual corrosion of faith by the naturalistic and secularist temper of the time. It is a corrosion that can and must be arrested and undone by a vital theology, cast in contemporary terms.

Throughout the world, even in America, there is a widespread hunger for metaphysics, engendered by disillusionment with the shallow formulas and plausible half-truths of positivism. Throughout the world, there is a renewed concern with theology, amounting to a renaissance. Catholicism has its neo-Thomism. Protestantism has its new and vital neo-orthodoxy associated, in various forms, with the names of Karl Barth, Emil Brunner and Reinhold Niebuhr. What Judaism needs today, in my sincere opinion, is a great theological reconstruction in the spirit of a neo-orthodoxy distant alike from sterile fundamentalism and secularized modernism. I earnestly hope that we will not have much longer to wait for this great and high undertaking to get under way.

PALESTINE: A POSSIBLE SOLUTION

The Case for a Non-Territorial Federal State

ALVIN JOHNSON

LIFE, Mr. Justice Holmes used to say, is made up mainly of problems that can never be solved. Palestine looks like one of those insoluble problems. But it has to be solved, or the urge toward a new world order of peace encounters a serious check. If the problem of Palestine defies solution with present premises, sooner or later the new premise of Russia will enter into the argument. And the world already has more than enough of the Russian premise.

Since the Balfour Declaration, much water has run under the bridges, water more and more stained with blood. At the time of the Declaration, the solution proposed appeared practicable as well as just. Palestine had been wrested from the Turks by the British. The British had been put in position to liberate the Arab-speaking territories from the Turkish yoke by the entry of America into World War I, an event that turned British defeat into British victory. The Palestinian Arabs had taken no part in the

struggle for the expulsion of the Turks. They had no political organization whatever. They had no national feeling. It was therefore entirely reasonable for the British to assume that they had a right to dispose of Palestine in such a way as might comport with their own interest and the interest of world peace. It was also entirely proper that the British should have consulted the interests of America. All these interests were embodied in the Balfour Declaration, interpreted by the Zionists—with Balfour's tacit consent as authority—as a plan to set up a Jewish homeland in Palestine, a homeland that should be an independent Jewish state so soon as the Jews, through immigration, should have attained to the position of a substantial majority.

Whether this solution was actually possible, whether it was actually desirable from the point of view even of the Jews, these, for anyone but a closet historian, are otiose questions. We shall get nowhere by juggling the Balfour Declaration, by declaiming against the shortsightedness of world Jewry in failing to push immigration to the point of majority position while there were yet no political barriers to surmount, by denouncing the British mandatory government as pro-Arab or indeed anti-Semitic.

If we really seek a solution, we must build it upon the premises of conditions as they are today and may reasonably be expected to develop tomorrow.

OUR first premise must be the facts of the existing population situation. There are rather more than 1,200,000 Arabs in cis-Jordan Palestine and about 600,000 Jews, as compared with 600,000 Arabs and 65,000 Jews at the time of the Balfour Declaration.

The Jews are there to stay. There are

people who doubt that it was wise to plant this settlement of Jews in the heart of the Moslem world. I am not one of them, but I agree they hold an arguable position—as historians. As practical men, no. The Jewish settlements in Palestine are an indissoluble fact. They have succeeded in making themselves self-supporting—at least transiently—in an environment where everything appeared to be against them. As pioneers, they have worked miracles. And as a developing people, they exhibit a spirit almost incredible when one recalls the limitations of their background, for the most part in ghettos and semi-ghettos, with appeal only to God and their own inner resources. In Palestine, there is plenty of fight in them. There is too much fight to suit the taste of a man of peace like me. I deplore the killings and the bombings, as I deplore the British policy of pushing away from the Promised Land the anguished refugees packed in rat-infested, unseaworthy tubs. I deplore: but I note, these Jews of Palestine are not to be reasoned out of existence, or even into sweet reasonableness. They are there, and they mean to stay. And I do not know of any power in the world, moral or military, that can shake their resolution.

There are 1,200,000 Arabs, and they are there to stay. As an American of prairie-state origin, used to the conventional American way of pushing Indians around whenever the whites wanted their lands, I assumed at the time of the Balfour Declaration that those 600,000 Arabs would be gently encouraged to find new homes in Syria and Iraq. No intelligent Jewish leader shared this view. Even the most extreme Zionists declared their intent of safeguarding the interests, civil and cultural, of the Palestinian Arabs. This has been done so well that there are now 1,200,000 Arabs against an original 600,000, living on a higher standard, much better protected against the curses of malaria and trachoma, with a much lower infant death-rate and a much greater propensity to outbreed the Jews. True, their standard of living is still lower than that of the Jews. But it has risen notably.

To establish a Jewish majority immediate ly would require the opening of the gates of Palestine to 800,000 Jews. To maintain the majority, it would be necessary to admit every year enough immigrants to balance the superior birth-rate of the Arabs and such Arab immigration from across the Jordan as may be attracted by the higher standard of living of Palestine or pushed in by Arab propaganda.

It would be no simple matter to establish and maintain a Jewish majority in Palestine. There are, to be sure, enough Jews living miserably in European camps, or in Poland and the Balkans, to make up a majority, and there is enough money in world Jewry to maintain them for years. But no one wants an international poorhouse in Palestine. These immigrants must be integrated into the economic life, a problem of vast proportions. But the main obstacle lies in the fact that the whole Arab world is dead set against permitting the Jews to establish a majority in Palestine. They are set against any Jewish immigration because every additional unit means a step toward a Jewish majority.

Someone will object, *not* the whole Arab world, but the effendi, the princelets, the writers—in short, the upper class, a thin topsoil in any land, but especially thin in the Arab lands, where the vast majority have all they can do to get each day's meager loaf of bread. This objection does not impress me. All political initiative everywhere moves within this thin topsoil. The masses, however, can be stirred by it, particularly to violent action. The Arab upper classes can stir up the fellahs against the Jews *ad libitum*.

It is entirely realistic to say that the Arabs of Palestine do not want to live as a minority under the Jews, no matter what formal guarantees are given of minority rights, and the Jews do not want to live as a minority under the Arabs.

There was a time when men of hopeful disposition conceived that national minorities could be adequately protected by international regulations. Experience under the League of Nations has not been reassuring.

How adequate was the protection of national minorities in Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Iraq? A national minority must expect to be oppressed. Even if it is no more oppressed than the Sudeten Germans and Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, the minority will consider itself oppressed. Hence the recent popularity of the Turkish solution of the minority problem, "exchange of populations," with all it implies in the way of driving deeply rooted families out of their ancestral homes with nothing to show for their labor and thrift except a few miserable effects in their hand luggage.

The position of a national minority is not attractive, and can't be made attractive by all the international arrangements that can be devised. Hence arises the project of partitioning Palestine to form a Jewish state consisting of the areas where the Jews predominate, and an Arab state, with certain areas reserved to the Mandatory. But there is no area except Tel Aviv and its suburbs where we should not find a considerable Arab minority, no area except the parched Negeb where we should not find a Jewish minority. Majority-minority friction would continue under partition.

BUT how much universal validity is there in the majority-minority calculus? West European and American thinking runs in terms of the monolithic state—one nationality, one language, one religion, one system of social customs, one system of law. We admit exceptions, like the Mexican communities of the Southwest and the antique French of Louisiana. The English admit picturesque exceptions in the surviving Gaelic communities in the mountains of Wales. France has its exception in Alsace, where the girl at the hotel desk will tell you, "*Nous parlons français, aber meistens sprechen wir Deutsch.*"

Unconsciously, we apply our Western ideas to the East and Near East without allowing for the fact that the barriers between groups are much greater. The ethnic fragments in the West by and large share the religion of the majority—with creedal

differences, as between Catholics and Protestants. They are adjusted to the same legal system, or to systems closely related, like the civil law of Louisiana and the common law of the rest of the states, varying only enough to enrich the portfolios of the lawyers.

The barriers between Arab and Jew in Palestine are of a quite different order. The differences in language may not be much greater than the difference between French and Flemish in Belgium. The differences between Judaism and Islam are far greater than the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism, although, to be sure, not so great as the differences between Islam and the various idolatries of India. The Moslem legal system comes straight from the Koran, the Jewish legal system comes from Western Europe. Imagine the Moslem submitting to a Jewish court in matters of marriage, divorce, the relations of parent and child. Imagine his submitting to a Jewish court in matters of torts and crimes, which have an altogether different scale of values under Islam. Imagine the Jew submitting to Moslem law, with its acceptance of torture and mutilation.

Again, Jewish education is derived mainly from West European experience, and Moslem education grows out of the Koran.

I submit, the Arab-Jewish problem in Palestine cannot be solved under the scheme of majority-minority nationalism. Neither party is competent to rule the other. In all the most essential concerns of life, each party must enjoy complete self-rule. And it should be of not the slightest consequence which party happens to count a majority in the total population.

WHAT is plainly indicated is a federal state in Palestine. In its constitution, Jews would rule Jews, Arabs would rule Arabs, in all the ordinary concerns of life. Arab courts would handle all disputes between Arabs, Jewish courts all disputes between Jews. Disputes between Arabs and Jews would be handled by mixed courts of Arab and Jewish jurists. Arabs would organize and finance the education of their own

children; the Jews would organize and finance their own education. Arabs and Jews would be equally free to bring into Palestine as many of their co-religionists as they could support. Arabs and Jews would be equally free to regulate the alienation of land, the relation between landlord and tenant, between employer and employee.

So far, the solution I suggest appears to be simply a variant on the Morrison plan and the Magnes plan. But both of those plans look to territorial segregation after the Western model. This segregation I reject. I reject it because, economically, Palestine is either an integrated unit or it is an Arab-Jewish poorhouse.

Look at the hydrographic map of Palestine. The fruitfulness of Palestine depends on water, and the chief source of available irrigation water is the upper Jordan. Most of the Jordan, unfortunately, is deep in a geologic rift, 600 feet below sea level even at the Sea of Galilee. To find a level permitting the gravity flow of Jordan water outside of the meager shelves along the Jordan itself, reservoirs have to be constructed as far north as Lake Tule, or beyond, and the water must be carried by canals in tortuous windings to the Plain of Esdraelon and the Coastal Plain. No territorial separation corresponding to present majority-minority relations can correspond with the hydrographic contours. Either unity, or no water. Either water, or poverty for Arab and Jew.

Therefore, I regard territorial partition as fatal to Palestine. What I propose is a *non-territorial federal state*.

For the common concerns of the Palestinian state, such as the regulation of foreign trade, domestic and seaborne transportation, irrigation and electric power, afforestation, defense, foreign relations, and the corresponding revenue provisions—customs, excises, income taxes—there should be a federal government established on the principle of absolute equality forever of Jew and Arab, irrespective of relative population figures. The Jews would no doubt choose their representatives by universal suffrage, the Arabs

by such a scheme of suffrage or influence as seemed good to them.

To us, whose pattern of political thought is fixed by our experience in the monolithic national state, it seems at first thought preposterous that an Arab majority should count for no more than a Jewish minority, or that the superior productive power of the Jews should weigh no more than the inferior productive power of the Arabs. But here we are not dealing with a monolithic state, but with two states; and even two territorial states can work together only on terms of absolute equality.

I appear to be ignoring the Christian population of Palestine. *De minimis non curat lex.* They should be free to choose whether they wish to go with the Jews or with the Arabs. The more recent Christian settlements would probably go with the Jews, the older settlements with the Arabs, whose language they use. Some special adjustments would have to be made, but this would be a simple problem once the major problem of Jew versus Arab was settled.

SOME readers will shrug their shoulders and say: it is like a cloistered scholar to propose a political form, the like of which was never known on land or sea. I suggest that they read Savigny, the great legal historian. They will discover that I can claim not a trace of originality for my proposal. In somewhat different form, it was the guiding principle of Roman administration in the great days of the Roman Empire. The Roman administrator had to cope, not with two legal and cultural systems, the conquering Roman and the provincial, but with many cultural and legal systems within the province. To the glory of Rome, their system produced—alas, along with conscienceless grafters—an extraordinary number of wise, brave, humane administrators, who weighed each legal system, every conflict of legal systems, applying the law, but with the reservation *summum jus, summa injuria*. The letter of the law killeth.

Is Roman wisdom too refined for you? Then note the behavior of the Teutonic

barbarians who broke through the boundaries of the Roman Empire. At first, of course, the full-fleshed Franks, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Vandals robbed and raped to the savage heart's desire. But then they had to accept the responsibility of rule. Their own people had the lawless law of the military camp. The economy on which they would have to live was organized under Roman law. What were their kings to do?

They adopted the principle that Romans and Romanized Gauls and other subjects would live under Roman law, Teutons under Teutonic, and conflicts between Teuton and Roman or Romanizer were to be settled by two judges, one a Roman jurist, one a Teuton. Such was the system of Theodoric, Gothic King of Italy, under whom the last years of the 6th century, and the first of the 7th, were years of justice and peace and plenty in Italy.

It may be said: the Goths after all had the ultimate control; the Gothic king was absolute monarch and could resolve all ultimate difficulties for the benefit of the Goths. And sometimes, indeed, a Gothic princelet let his blood count. But no Gothic prince or king ever had a working social-economic system unless he stood on the principle of the absolute equality of the Roman and the Goth before the law.

Today, we have no absolute monarch, but democracy, the absolute successor of the absolute monarchy. Can't democracy rise to the level of the Goths? And if the Goths seem too far back in history, let me remind you that the French in Algiers, for the greater part of a century, have lived in harmony with a Moslem population permitted to live under the law of the Koran.

I am not to be charged with originality. The system I propose has been far more widely employed in historical times, has worked far more successfully than our recent, shallow, unrealistic, and inhuman monolithic state. It has a future.

MANY of my readers, if it occurs to them that I know what I am talking about, will close the page on me with a sense of

discouragement. They had dreamed of Palestine as Jewish in the same sense as England is English, Jews settled compactly from Dan to Beersheba, as of old. As of old? Was there ever a monolithic Jewish state in Palestine? All those nations the veterans of the Exodus found in Palestine, what became of them? There was Joshua's brief and limited attempt at extermination, which covered a territory equal to the lower half of the Bronx. For the rest, the lesser tribes without the Law lived unmolested under their own law, and the Bible offers no indication of any attempt to draw the uncircumcised under the Law of Moses. Did not the non-Hebrews continue to "pass their children through the fire," burn them alive in the brazen image of Moloch in the vale of Hinnom, within smelling distance of the Temple, for 400 years after David whom the Lord loved and Solomon the Wise?

There was never a monolithic Hebrew state in Palestine, and by the same token, there was never a time when all the Hebrews were assembled in Palestine. There were Jewish concessions—ghettos—in hundreds of cities, as early as the time of Solomon. They were as far afield as Spain and Somaliland. The forces that created the Diaspora were heavily emphasized by the violence of the conquerors of Palestine, but the distribution of Hebrews throughout the accessible world had been operating for hundreds of years before any forcible expulsion from Palestine took place.

WHY Palestine never became in the old days a monolithic Hebrew state—as Holland became a monolithic Dutch state, England a monolithic English state; why Palestine never was able to assemble within its borders all the Hebrews, and will never assemble all the Jews, becomes obvious when one looks realistically at the economic geography of the land. It is hard for us who were brought up on the Bible to view Palestine realistically. We were taught to view Palestine as a land of corn and wine, a land flowing with milk and honey. The noble missionary David Livingstone wrote in a

COMMENTARY

letter I have seen that the English Bible is the greatest commercial document in the English language. When I repeat to myself, corn and wine, milk and honey, I think the Bible is the greatest advertising document.

For the Palestine climate and soil are not favorable to the production of corn—that is, wheat. Of forty countries that report average wheat production, according to Robert Nathan and his associates, Palestine stands lowest, with six bushels yearly to the acre. As the Palestinian farmer must sow about two bushels, his net yield is four bushels, as compared with thirty bushels in really good wheat land, in the United States, Canada, Siberia. Four bushels is two-thirds of the minimum annual consumption per capita of a decently fed population. There are 2,000,000 acres under cultivation in Palestine out of an absolute maximum of 4,000,000, a maximum that will never be realized. Judge yourself how large a population can be fed from the soil of Palestine according to self-sufficing methods.

It may be asserted that the climate has changed. Of course climates are always changing. But I recall Biblical encomiums on fields that yielded five fold—that is, ten bushels to the acre. That looks to me as if, in Solomon's day, six bushels must have been a good average.

As for milk, all milk is grass, and except for the region of Dan to the north, and around the Waters of Merom and the Sea of Galilee—roughly one-twentieth of the area—the soil and watering of Palestine is, and ever was, unfavorable to the succulent grasses that make cow's milk. All through the land, there were stubborn shrubs and thistles that could aliment goats to give meager milk.

And as for honey, poets are always impressed by the flaring perishable flowers of semi-arid territory. But one acre of clover or buckwheat will produce more honey than a square mile of the marvelous, gorgeous flowers known to the King James mistranslators as roses of Sharon and lilies of the valley.

I pass by the wine. Palestinian wine is

plentiful, and heady. But wine meets the need for food only through exports, and Palestinian wine can make little headway against the floods of similar wines from California, Argentina, and Algeria.

MY READER may find it hard to suppress his indignation over this apparent attack on the Palestinian soil. I appear to be ignoring irrigation, and the wonders it has already achieved in the Jewish farm communities. But I am in fact an ardent irrigationist. I have spent summers in the West as an economist in the employ of the Bureau of Reclamation, to report on irrigation settlements. I have been profoundly impressed by the productivity of arid and semi-arid land once water is supplied. But I never permitted myself to ignore the cost, and the effects of cost on the type of agriculture that could be economically successful.

We do not produce wheat on the irrigated lands of Arizona, New Mexico, and the Imperial Valley—lands under the same ardent sun that shines upon Palestine. Wheat could indeed be grown there, but the type of wheat that could be prolific under the chlorophyl-burning rays of the sun has not yet been developed. The yields of existing types of wheat are not sufficient to pay the costs of irrigation. The same thing is true of other widely grown cereals. There are varieties of kaffir corn that would thrive, but they offer a bread grain no one outside the Sudan can tolerate.

Under irrigation, Palestine could no doubt match our marvelous alfalfa fields of the Southwest, where one mowing is hardly off the ground before a luxurious aftermath clamors for the mowing machine. Irrigation and alfalfa could solve the Palestine milk problem. It could not well solve the meat problem, for beef production will not pay the costs of irrigation.

What is the bearing of all this tedious agronomic lore? Why, that with or without irrigation, Palestine cannot produce the basic foods—bread and meat—for any considerable population. These must be imported.

But under irrigation, Palestine produces magnificent citrus fruits, and can expand her production indefinitely if export markets can be found. She could develop an enormous raisin, prune, and olive oil production. She could duplicate the achievements of California in winter vegetables, melons, and a host of other things that delight the heart of man, but do not adequately feed him.

All I have said about the non-self-sufficiency of Palestine applies to our own Southwest. Our Southwest prospers because it commands the magnificent markets of the United States. What markets can Palestine command? England and France, Belgium, Holland, and Scandinavia take Palestinian citrus fruits unless their commercial policy decrees otherwise.

THE future of Palestinian agriculture depends on the possibility of working in with the commercial policies of Western Europe. And that has many implications. The Palestinian cannot sit under his vine or his fig tree and bid the world go to the devil. He must exert the wisdom of the serpent and the dove in dealing with the countries that could take his products.

But granted the most skillful and successful management of export relations, Palestinian agriculture alone cannot support such a population as even the more moderate Zionists contemplate. For that, an extensive development of industry and trade would be necessary. And Palestine is handicapped by lack of raw materials and sources of power. But the same thing can be said of Connecticut, whose industrial performance is prodigious. If Palestine can develop skill in light manufactures, and establish favorable trade relations with Western Europe, there is no reason why she could not maintain an additional 1,000,000 Jewish immigrants, or indeed 2,000,000 or more.

I have not mentioned the possibilities of trade with the Arabian hinterland. This was the richest region in the world under the Roman Empire. It remained the richest and most cultured part of the world under Aaron the Orthodox, dear to all readers of

the Arabian Nights as Haroun al-Raschid. First the Crusades, and then the Turks, ruined its cities and rich fields. But the curse of the Turks has been lifted. The soil is there. The industrious and talented Arab population is still there, ignorant and poverty-stricken, to be sure, yet maintaining the dignity of the inheritors of a great past. This Arabian hinterland is the world's greatest unexploited opportunity. We race with the British and French for the possible wealth deep under the ice of Antarctica. The potential wealth of the Arab lands lies open under the splendor of the sun.

How to bring back the ancient glory of these lands? Economic history tells us that the first agent of progress is always the trader, who mobilizes existing production of little local esteem, later to encourage production for the market. If we can be rid of the *funeste* majority-minority superstition, we shall see Jewish-Arab trading concerns throwing a net over Lebanon and Syria, over Mesopotamia and Iran, over Arabia and Egypt, drawing in the existing production, however meager, and supplying the means of improving production.

Is anyone ignorant of the fact that in 400 B.C.E. the grassy regions bordering the Arabian desert produced wool so fine that the veils woven in Sidon were too sheer for any modest Greek woman to wear? Today, the long-legged, black-snouted sheep that waste the grass produce only rug wool and tough mutton. The climate is right for fine wool. There is fine-wool area enough to throw Australia into the shade. Given the trade, the choicest merinos would soon be basking on 10,000 hills.

BUT all depends on Arab-Jewish peace, and there is no key to peace except in non-territorial federalism, with Jew ruling Jew, Arab ruling Arab, and equal representation of common interests. Shall we have this solution at once, or shall we await the experience of decades of misery and blood? No matter how long we may have to wait, this will inevitably come to pass. Jew will rule Jew, and Arab will rule Arab. In the end, there

will be peace, a fertile peace, but uneasy with the record of endless outrages.

But what of the British Mandate? Yes, what of it, if Jew and Arab learn to live in peace? What of it?

The program I propose is, in the long run, inevitable. The Arabs in Palestine are an indissoluble fact. The Jews are an indissoluble fact. Neither will accept minority status. Neither accepts equality today, but neither will ever get anything better than equality.

Most of the real interests of life, education, relief, health, taxation, fall within the sphere of local government, territorial or non-territorial. There are also, for every modern community, vital interests that transcend the locality—transportation, international trade, foreign affairs, war and peace. In Palestine, the administration of water supplies and electric power also come into the picture.

To follow the plan I suggest—equal representation in all common affairs to Jew and Arab—offers possibilities of deadlock. To be sure, every federal system offers such pos-

sibilities. The history of the United States is in one aspect a history of deadlocks. But we continue to live because the most essential issues escape the deadlock. Jews and Arabs may deadlock on customs duties. What of it? People can live under any system of customs duties. They will not deadlock on water, for all men thirst equally.

Do I think the Zionists will accept the plan I propose? Of course not—voluntarily. Do I think the Arabs will accept it? Of course not. Who of us accepts the inevitable? It accepts us.

How about the British Mandate? The British would give their eyeteeth today to be out of it. They have made a lamentable record. If they could retire with honor—good God, what a relief!

Palestine gave hope to the world, under more desperate circumstances than those of today. It shone forth as a majestic beacon in a world sunk in primordial superstition. Today, it is a battle ground between two sects of the religion of One God. Under One God, I propose the truce of peace.

DEGREES

YEHOASH

From how many hands has earth ingathered seed,
And Thine will be the field to have and to inherit;
And without remembrance, thankless of their merit,
Thou shalt fill Thy sheds with heaped up sheaves.

Well, then! It was our hand that badly did the sowing,
And long in the deep must the seed have rot;
String by string we wore at the net of Satan,
And Thou in one second hast severed every knot.

Then so be it! Thou shalt gather the full harvest,
Yet still fuller grows fruit on future vines;
And Thy melody will be mere babbling and stammer,
To that song which comes to silence both mine and Thine.

YEHOASH (Solomon Bloomgarden—1870-1927) is a Yiddish writer noted for his nature poetry and for the unusually intellectual character of his sensibility. He translated the Bible into modern Yiddish. The present poem was published in the *Zukunft* in 1927, after the author's death, and is here translated by JACOB SLOAN.

IN OUR INFANCY

A Story

ELIOT L. WAGNER

PAUL, in the bathroom which connected his room with his mother's, listened tensely at her door. He could hear only her singing, the same old song: he knew it by heart. She had chosen the hotel suite they had had the year before; there was one room for her, another for him. He was seven, a pale, rather ugly child, undersized, with a large mouth, blue eyes slightly protruding, and dryish light-brown hair.

He tried the doorknob, seizing it firmly and turning it with intent stealth. He pressed against it and discovered that, as he supposed, she had locked the door. He undressed, filled with discontent, put on his pajamas, and washed. He dried his face and hands, straightened out the damp towel neatly on the rack, and went into his room, where he stood at the window for a long time looking at the landscaped lawn of the hotel. The yellows, blues, and pinks of the flowerbeds swayed in the early evening breeze.

It was the last of June. School was over, and the great treat had now arrived: he was in the country. He wished he had never seen the country! School was bad enough, but at least his father sometimes played with him before bedtime at home. His father had promised him that he would come to the hotel every week-end. But his father had made that promise last year, too, and hadn't kept it. When Paul asked his mother why, she had smiled and told him his father would have to answer that. His mother

liked the country because she always had plenty to do there: she played cards and golf and swam. Nestled amidst the expanses of the golf course was the swimming pool, which had a pavilion with white, wooden lattices and a copper-colored roof. A patch of steel grey water glistened. It must be freezing in there, he thought. Then he thought of the governess, last year, who was in charge of all the children at the hotel. She had not cared much about him. She had just wanted him to keep quiet. He hadn't liked her much, either.

The smooth-cut stretches of grass, bordered by trees and bushes, were the fairways of the golf course. They rolled in bumps and hillocks down to the foot of the mountain. Then there was the valley, with its scattered white houses and winding railroad tracks that reminded him of his electric-train set at home. And in a quick upward sweep, another mountain rose, towering to the purple and orange bars in the darkening sky. The landscape served in its vastness only to make him more desolate.

"**A**RE you in bed, Paul?" his mother called from inside.

"Yes, mother," he answered. He scampered to the bed, crawled beneath the lavish quilting, and lay with his eyes open, hoping she would come in. But her voice, seconds later, said, "That's a good boy. Good night." Her door opened, and closed. He heard her footfalls, muffled by the thick carpeting in the corridor, passing his room. Tears welled in his eyes. He fought hard, and managed not to cry.

The room slowly darkened. Its objects began to blur and lose shape; they became mysterious and threatening, and started slowly to shift and move. He closed his eyes

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tight, fearful and trembling, but they popped open despite him and stared at the terrifying shapes of darkness. The incessant call of the crickets filled the black outside. Occasionally leaves fluttered in the wind, and the sound was like a brief patter of rain. Suddenly he felt a spasmodic twitching of the fingers of his right hand. He held his hand up and tried to look at it. The darkness made of it only another vague shadow. He tried to stop the movement of the fingers by clenching his fist, but they jerked around as though they were separate from him and not his fingers at all. He sat up and clutched at the night-table lamp with his left hand. He touched instead a thin, cold, cylindrical object and gasped. He pulled the covers over his head.

Slowly he realized that it was the telephone he had touched. He reached again, pulled it toward him, and removed the receiver from the hook.

"Hotel, hello," said a man's voice.

Paul didn't know what to say. "Hello," said the voice.

"I'm cold!" Paul blurted, and hung up.

For five minutes he lay partly ashamed of having complained he was cold when he wasn't, and partly in despair of anyone's coming. Then the door opened. Click! The room was light. Through squinting lids he saw a bellhop in a blue uniform with a blanket under his arm.

"Who's cold around here?" the bellhop demanded in a rough voice. "You?" He pointed at Paul.

Paul nodded timidly.

"Go on," exclaimed the bellhop. "You're not cold. It's hot in here." With that he pulled the quilt from the bed, revealing Paul's curled-up figure and the convulsive fingers of Paul's hand. The bellhop, a good-looking youth with wavy black hair, bent over him and examined his fingers. "What's wrong with your hand?"

Paul shrugged, but his fingers in the bellhop's warm, friendly palm became quiet as abruptly as they had before begun to move.

"Okay," said the bellhop. "Now where are you cold? There?" He poked Paul

lightly in the ribs. "There?" He poked him in the stomach. "There?" In the left side. "There?" In the right side.

Paul rolled around on the bed, trying to escape, his body shaking helplessly with laughter. The bellhop stood over him, arms akimbo. Paul looked up. "You're tickling me!" he said.

"You're tickaling me!" the bellhop mimicked. "Here!"

He tucked Paul in expertly with sheet, blanket, and quilt.

"Well, are you still cold?"

Paul shook his head.

"Okay, sign off," said the bellhop.

"What's your name?" asked Paul.

"None of your business, you little stiff-eroo you."

"Mine's Paul."

"Who cares?" responded the bellhop cheerily, and clicking off the light, he left the room.

Paul tried to think of all that had just happened, but his face and body felt flushed and heavy with sleep. His eyes closed, and when they opened again it was morning.

AFTER breakfast, he walked slowly past the bellhops' bench off the lobby and peeked in; his friend of the night before was not there.

Rain tapped gently against the glass of the festoon-draped French windows leading to the upper porch. Paul gazed at the billowy mist and fog covering the valley below. All the greenness outside was sodden, bent with pearly rain. The wet stone flights descending to the swimming pool were slate grey. The downpour washed away all the joy he had slept on, and left in its place a vacuum of boredom. His mother, when he went from his room, had not been up; she was no use. He pressed his forehead and nose against the cool glass.

"What's your name?" someone asked him. He was startled. That was what he had asked the bellhop last night, but the bellhop hadn't told him.

This was a girl, pretty in a quiet way, with brown hair, and hazel eyes which to

Paul appeared friendly. Behind her, gazing inquisitively at Paul, were a little blonde girl with a blue hair ribbon and a boy of about Paul's size.

He told her his name.

"I'm Miss Shulman," she said.

He perused her doubtfully.

"Have you had breakfast, Paul?"

He had.

"How'd you like to come down to the play-room and have some fun with us?"

He hesitated. "Are you the girl who takes care of the kids?" he inquired.

"Yes, I am, Paul."

"The one who took care of the kids last year was mean," said Paul. "She didn't like me."

"Well," said Miss Shulman taking him by the hand, "I'm not mean, and I like you."

By noon he believed that she did. All morning he played games and painted and slid down the slide and shouted and ran around the play-room. He had never had such fun before. When everyone was tired, Miss Shulman played the piano and sang children's songs in a sweet voice. Paul liked her voice better than his mother's. She finished and Paul announced boldly, "I can sing a song."

Miss Shulman asked him please to sing it and he did, tunefully, singing the words in a grown-up style:

*A cigarette that bears a lipstick's traces,
An airline ticket to romantic places,
And still my heart has wings,
These foolish things
Remind me of you. . . .*

"How did you learn that song?" Miss Shulman asked after he was through.

"Oh, she sings it."

"Who is she?"

"My mother. She used to be a singer. She sang in the International Casino."

The little girl with the blue ribbon twisted restlessly and asserted: "My mother can sing better than your mother."

Paul was surprised by the pugnacity of her tone. "I never said she couldn't," he

mildly replied. The little girl was silenced completely.

It had not occurred to Paul that one's own mother should do everything best.

Each afternoon as the sun descended and the gold-specked shadows lengthened on the grass where he played, Paul's anxiety grew and darkened the happiness of his day. As suppertime drew near, he clung moodily to Miss Shulman. He didn't want to leave her, yet knew he had to. He knew also that waiting for him was his great empty room. He was afraid. All the sounds were strange at night, and there was the twitching of his hands and feet. He thought often of phoning for the bellhop who had been nice to him. But everybody would only say he was a pest, and nobody would like him.

Some nights he lay tossing till dawn, and then, when the birds began to sing, he dozed for an hour or two. He would get up and eat breakfast impatiently. At nine, Miss Shulman would come.

One morning she noticed that his eyes were puffy, and when she discovered that he hadn't slept, she was so sorry for him that he didn't care if he never slept again. At five o'clock that afternoon he lingered until the others were gone. He had a gift for her.

"Where did you get these?" she asked uneasily on looking at the present. It was a booklet of passes to the Times Square Burlesque.

Paul felt disappointed and hurt. "Don't you want them?" he asked. Miss Shulman said nothing, but her expression seemed to demand an explanation. "My father gives them to me to give to my friends. That's why I gave them to you. They're for one of his theaters. . . ."

Miss Shulman knelt and squeezed him tightly. "Why you poor kid!" she exclaimed. "Thank you, Paul. It was sweet of you to think of me!" And she kissed him.

That night as he lay in bed he thought as hard as he could of the kiss: how soft her lips were! how soft they had been against his cheek! It would be nice, he reflected idly, if instead of his real mother, Miss Shulman

were his mother. He would get some more passes for Miss Shulman when his father came, although one week-end had passed already and his father hadn't come. He felt very sleepy. His pillow was nice and warm and smooth like Miss Shulman's kiss. He had almost fallen asleep when suddenly the pillow became wrinkled like the skin which sometimes formed on the surface of his cocoa. He tried to smooth it, but the wrinkles spread to the sheets, to the cover, all over: narrow, fine, disgusting wrinkles, like the skin on the cocoa. He cried out, but there was no one to hear him. He called into the phone "Send him in, send him in, send him in!" He no longer cared what they thought of him.

The door opened and the light went on. Paul saw it was the wrong bellhop. "Not you, not you!" he cried. "The one with the blanket. I want the one with the blanket!"

"Okay," said the bellhop, "you mean Roy. Don't go 'way. Stay right where you are."

The bellhop went out, and a moment later Roy came. He had a fierce look on his face.

"My pillow's wrinkled," Paul announced hollowly.

"So what?" demanded Roy.

"My pillow's wrinkled. I'm afraid."

Roy grasped the fear in the child's voice. "That's different," he said. "I'll get you another pillow."

He took the pillow away and returned in a few seconds. "Here's a smooth one now," he said.

Paul knew it was the same pillow but he didn't care. His fear had vanished. He snuggled into the pillow, and it was all right. "Do you like me, Roy?" he murmured.

"Sure I like you. Do you want me to hang around for awhile, or are you ready to go to sleep?"

"You don't have to stay, Roy," Paul answered. "I'll go to sleep now."

"Good night," said Roy.

"Good night. . ." Then, just before Roy closed the door, Paul said, "Roy, will you put me to sleep tomorrow night?"

Roy sighed. "Okay. I'll put you to sleep tomorrow night."

Roy kept his promise and dropped in each evening. He would grab Paul and shake him like a pillow. He would lift him under the chest and thighs and sail him around the room like an airplane. He would toss him up to the ceiling. He would tickle him until Paul chortled with delight.

Then, one evening, he talked with him.

"Does your mother know you call me in here every night?" he asked.

"Oh no!" Paul exclaimed. "She doesn't know."

Roy was sitting on the edge of the bed. He tapped Paul seriously on the chest with a forefinger. "Then you'd better tell her," he advised.

Paul became very solemn, and his face assumed a strange maturity. "I'll never tell her or anybody, Roy. It's a secret. You see, you and I know about it, but if we told anyone they'd make fun of me. They'd say I was a pest."

"Oh," said Roy. "I see. They'd say you were a pest."

"That's right," said Paul. "You won't tell, will you Roy?"

"Don't you know that kids aren't supposed to keep secrets from their mother?"

"She's not my mother anyway," Paul declared calmly.

Roy clapped a hand to his head. "Boy, are you a crazy kid! Who is your mother?"

"Miss Shulman," Paul blandly replied.

Roy burst into a brief spasm of laughter. "Frieda? Your mother? Does she know it?"

"Who's Frieda?"

"Frieda is your mother—Miss Shulman. Don't you even know her name? Oh, when she hears this!" He went off into another roar.

"Roy, you won't tell her! It's a secret!"

"What isn't a secret? . . . Listen, you tell your mother that Roy the bellhop comes in every night and puts you to sleep. He's working his way through med school and needs the cabbage, understand? You tell her that."

"What's cabbage?"

"Money. Cabbage is money."

"Oh," said Paul, "my mother doesn't give

out any money. My father takes care of all the money."

"Well, when's he going to be around?"

Paul shrugged. "He said he'd be here every Saturday, but he doesn't come. I think he's mad at her. They had a big fight before we came here. She doesn't like me. She said so. And she doesn't like him either. She likes a saxophone player. My father said so. He said any time she wants she can go to Reno. Where's that? . . . She just smiled all the time. She said he has a kid at the Hotel Victoria. I was to the Hotel Victoria but I never saw the kid. My father took me to have milk there after we were to his theater. Roxie Davis was backstage and she went with us when I had milk. . . ."

"Roxie Davis?" said Roy. "Did she do a striptease for you?"

"No," said Paul. "My father doesn't let me see the show. He says I'm too young to see the show."

"He must be delicate," said Roy.

"What's that mean?"

"That means that you tell your mother what I told you to."

Paul leaned forward. "But she's *not* my mother. I told you."

Roy pushed him in the chest and he fell back to the pillow. "Sign off," Roy growled, and went out.

Paul didn't care. Roy was his best friend in the world. And in the daytime, Miss Shulman was his best friend in the world.

THE children were going to entertain in the main ballroom, and each of them was going to sing or recite or dance. Miss Shulman coached them for a week, and on the evening of the entertainment they were permitted to stay up later than usual. They followed Miss Shulman from place to place, prancing excitedly in her wake. Just as they were entering the ballroom, someone called Paul's name. He didn't readily recognize the voice, but he turned and saw it was his father. His father squeezed him tightly and kissed him, and the rough stubble of his father's face felt unpleasant and scratchy against his own.

"Well!" his father said. "Are you enjoying yourself? Having a good time here?"

The question seemed so vague to Paul that he hardly knew what to reply. He said, finally, "Yes, papa, I'm having a good time. I'm going to sing 'Old Folks At Home.'"

"How's your mother? She having a good time?"

Paul shrugged uncomfortably. He twisted his head, looking into the ballroom where the children were gathered in a semi-circle around Miss Shulman, who was speaking to them.

"Can I go to Miss Shulman now, Papa?" he said.

"Why not?" answered his father, reaching out to pat Paul's head, but he was slow, and Paul escaped agilely to the ballroom.

Miss Shulman put her arm about his shoulders and asked, "How would you like to go on first?"

Would he! He was proud and happy, and forgot all about his father. In high excitement he watched the grownups who were beginning to stroll into the ballroom. The slender, gilded legs of the cane chairs were reflected in the brilliant wax finish of the floor; the room, otherwise, was discreetly illuminated by soft radiations from the crystal chandeliers.

At last the ballroom was filled and it was time to begin. Miss Shulman, who was at the piano, introduced Paul to the audience and announced the song: "Old Folks At Home." He bowed. Miss Shulman played a few bars and he opened his mouth to sing. At that moment he became aware of his parents in the first row. His father, bald, short, with a large protruding stomach and bulging eyes, was smiling benignly. His fat hands rested clumsily on his thighs, and from one of his fingers glittered the stone of a tremendous diamond ring. His mother, an attractive blonde in her late twenties, was staring at him, the corner of her mouth curled in a small, tight-lipped smile. Paul's face began to tingle and his song slipped word by word from his memory.

Miss Shulman tried to prompt him, but it was useless. He could see that they were

all laughing at him. He would show them! He started the song he knew by heart, the one his mother was always singing when she thought she was alone in her room:

*A cigarette that bears a lipstick's traces,
An airline ticket to romantic places. . . .*

A ripple of subdued tittering crossed the audience.

*Those stumbling words that told you what
my heart meant. . . .*

*These foolish things
Remind me of you. . . .*

A couple entered the ballroom. The woman touched her companion's arm and whispered into his ear. He listened, then broadly grinned.

You came, you saw, you conquered me . . .

A deep flush spread over the face of Paul's father.

*. . . Now the ghost of you clings,
These foolish things
Remind me of you.*

The listeners exploded in a roar of mirth and applause. Paul's mother continued sitting with the little smile on her mouth. His father did not move a finger. Paul stared at them a second and then turned and went quickly to Miss Shulman, who told him he had been wonderful. He sat in the corner behind her until it was over. Miss Shulman distributed a prize to each child. Paul was given a little bow-and-arrow set. He took it with him to bed and fell asleep happily.

The following afternoon, Paul's father appeared at the children's playground, which was a level clearing on a rise behind the hotel. He told Paul he was going home and asked if Paul wanted to go with him.

Oh no! Far from it. Paul wanted to get back to his play, and could scarcely stand politely and not fidget while his father kissed him and told him to be a good boy and that he would see him at home after the summer was over. At last his father released him. He became an Indian and hunted everywhere with his bow and arrow.

AT FIVE o'clock, Paul reported reluctantly to his mother to be bathed and changed for supper. She was playing bridge on the expansive upper veranda and was in the middle of a game when he arrived. She told him to run along and wash himself. He didn't mind; she could play cards always for all he cared.

He prowled downstairs and around the outside of the hotel, an Indian once again. He trod softly over the uncharted wilds of the golf course, searching for enemies. At the top of a gently sloping incline an enemy brave got him. He tumbled to the grass, rolling over and over till he reached the bottom. Then he drew his bow and killed an unwary pioneer. He clapped his hand against his lips and uttered a victory call.

The hunt was not over. He entered a wild forest where only an Indian could get through. He twisted and squirmed his way among the trees and bushes, being careful not to step on twigs or dried leaves. He was marvelously quiet. He stole thus a long way down the mountain, as far as the beginning of the fairway furthest from the hotel. He emerged from the wilderness, coming out in front of the fifth-hole tee.

To his surprise and pleasure, there on the bench were his best friends in the world: Roy and Miss Shulman. Roy, in blue bellhop's pants and a white basque shirt, was hugging and squeezing Miss Shulman and had his face pressed against her cheek. Paul was delighted to see that they knew each other and were friends.

"Hello," he said brightly.

His friends started, and quickly separated. Roy turned around. His face assumed a twist of anguish. "Good God!" he exclaimed. "Look what's here!"

"Hello Roy," said Paul. "I'm an Indian."

"Indian?" Roy repeated. "You're a pest!" And to Miss Shulman: "Did you ever see anything like this? Kid ubiquitous!"

Paul smiled. Roy was always joking! "What does that mean?" he asked.

Roy replied, unsmiling, "That means I'm sick and tired of you and I don't want you around. Go hunt for your mother."

IT WAS a joke of course. Paul's smile faded into a little, uncertain grin. He gazed into Roy's eyes, but couldn't comprehend their expression. Confused, he turned to Miss Shulman. He was about to tell her he didn't have to hunt for his mother, he knew she was on the porch, but Miss Shulman's face wore something of the annoyance with which the governess last year used to regard him. And he heard the last year's governess' voice when Miss Shulman said, "Paul, please go and get dressed for supper the way you're supposed to."

The confusion filled his chest and whirled around in his head. These were his friends; it simply couldn't be. He had told his father he would not go home only because they were here.

"I'd rather stay with you," he said, putting the thought into faltering words.

"But we don't want you to stay with us. It's time for your mother to take care of you," said Roy, in a slow, even voice which sounded very strange and unlike him.

Paul hesitated, appealing again to Miss Shulman. He felt as if he were in a nightmare in which his only two friends, the only two people who liked him, didn't want him. It was as horrible as the night when his pillow became wrinkled. It *was* a dream. His friends were far away and they were mad at him. The strange voice of Roy said, "Do you know I've been putting this kid to sleep every night? His mother leaves him shivering in bed, with his hands twitching, and he calls me on the phone. It's too hot, it's too cold, open the window, close the window. . . ." Then, from himself, he heard wrenched a wailing plea: "Roy!" But the strange voice continued, exposing and shaming him, as Roy's diminishing figure paced back and forth on the tee. "It's all a big secret. I never interrupted her bridge to annoy her about it. I want to be nice, but what the hell—there's a limit! The rich can

take care of their own lonely children once in a while." Again the ejaculation welled in his throat, then burst forth: "Roy! Please, Roy!" Now in the dream he saw Roy standing arms akimbo, facing him. He himself was getting smaller and smaller and soon would be blown away, like a shriveled leaf. "Maybe you can get rid of him, Frieda," the incessant voice suggested. "You're his pal. He told me his mother isn't his mother; you're his mother."

Before the spinning really began in his head, a vague image of Miss Shulman rose from the bench and said in a soft voice which he knew he was not supposed to overhear, "It's no use, Roy. It's a pity. It's not the kid's fault. I might as well take him back." The image approached him and became very large before he fell backwards away from it. Something from within tossed and jerked him convulsively. His arms and hands beat the ground; he couldn't make them stop. His legs flailed; he couldn't stand on them. Roy loomed gigantically above him. He opened his mouth to scream; no sound came. He descended into a broad empty fear. He opened his eyes wide: he saw the white of a cloud, a green streak of leaves. He panted.

Then it stopped. He closed his eyes and breathed more easily. A coolness freshened his face. He rose, shakily. It was like waking up. He rubbed his lids. It seemed to him that he was on the porch and had tripped and fallen in front of everyone. Mother would be annoyed with him.

But, opening his eyes, he found that he was not on the porch at all. He became confused. Below, a valley, white houses and winding railroad tracks. Opposite, a mountain, towering to the sky. He turned. Mother? A man in blue bellhop's pants and a white basque shirt. For a second Paul knew him (Roy?), then didn't.

His lip quivered. He was lost.

YIVO COMES TO MORNINGSIDE

America Gains a New Institute of Learning

MILTON R. KONVITZ

EARLY last January a letter was found in Brooklyn near a house that had just burned down. Dated 1889, signed Jacob H. Schiff, it had been written to Chief Rabbi Jacob Joseph of New York. In it Schiff expressed his displeasure that the rabbi had written an appeal *in Hebrew* addressed to all Jews, asking that they participate in the centennial celebration of the adoption of the Constitution. The language of the Jews in the United States, he wrote to the rabbi, is English. If it were not, he said, then we would justify the accusation of anti-Semites "that we are a nation in the midst of nations, that we do not adopt the customs of the people among whom we live, that we do not speak their language, that we remain a foreign element wherever we live."

Some will see it as a historic irony that this letter now reposes in the collection of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (Yivo), which uses the Yiddish language almost exclusively, in its building on 123rd Street, originally erected—by Jacob H. Schiff—for the Jewish Theological Seminary.

This incident is not offered as proof that the Yiddish language marches on regardless of time and circumstance. Perhaps it does no more than illustrate the truth that the

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life of the Jewish people is full of surprises, ironies, and paradoxes. But whatever it means, there on Morningside Heights, around the corner from Columbia University, is Yivo—a reality. What would have been considered wildly improbable fifty-odd years ago exists today as a full-fledged, highly respected social scientific institution, which is proving itself as productive on American shores as in its native Vilna—whence it came, fleeing Hitler, in 1939. Its latest published work, *Hitler's Professors*, by its director, Dr. Max Weinreich, a study of the relation of the German academic world to Nazism, has been widely praised for its authoritative scholarship and keen insight.

Yivo's Roots

Yivo celebrated its 20th anniversary in 1945—but to understand it we must go back sixty-five years to the period in Eastern Europe shortly after the pogroms of 1881. For the Jews of Eastern Europe, the milieu of 1925, when Yivo was founded, was not essentially different: the central fact in the life of an Eastern European Jew was still the enmity of the surrounding community and the separateness of the Jews.

Although for a while it had seemed that surrender of Jewish identity offered a way out from poverty and humiliation, it soon became clear that assimilation and anti-Semitism were but two blades that sharpened each other. As the Jews penetrated into business, the professions, the schools and universities, as they doffed *kaftans* and donned modish coats—as assimilation went wider and deeper, the blade of anti-Semitism became sharper. And as the blade of anti-Semitism became sharper, the eagerness to escape its edge by giving up one's Jewish identity became intensified. At last many

Jews said to themselves: assimilation offers no escape, we must seek something else.

Anti-Semitism and the influence of Marx drove many Jews into the social revolutionary parties. The argument of Trotsky, Axelrod, and others seemed as convincing as it was simple: the Jewish question is an aspect of the class war; with the abolition of classes the Jewish question will disappear. Let, therefore, the class-conscious Jewish workers and intellectuals forget that they belong to the people of Israel. Let them participate in the struggle for the world revolution as workers, not as Jews. But soon Jews observed that only Jewish revolutionaries were expected to give up national loyalties. And they began to feel that socialist national movements, too, completely neglected specifically Jewish problems. Nor had all Gentile revolutionaries freed themselves from anti-Semitism. The Jewish socialists and social revolutionaries began to insist on being recognized as *Jewish* socialist groups.

The Bund, formed in 1897, maintained that while Jewish socialists must strive for social justice for all humanity, the destiny of the Jews should not be made entirely dependent on the realization of socialism. The Bund demanded an autonomous cultural status for the Jews, with Yiddish as their language, until such realization.

There were, on the other hand, territorialists and Zionists of many shadings who maintained that, as there could be no nation without a territory, Jews must acquire a national homeland where they could enjoy cultural autonomy. While, in time, the Zionists limited their demands to Palestine, emphasized statehood, and chose Hebrew as their national language, the territorialists sought land wherever available, asked only cultural autonomy, and held Yiddish to be the national language.

The founders of Yivo reflected all these groupings—the Bund and the territorialists, with their insistence on Yiddish, and the Labor Zionists—but chiefly they reflected Dubnow's philosophy of cultural autonomy and of Diaspora nationalism outside Palestine, with all the variations on these themes.

Until approximately the end of the 19th century, the Jews had been a people held together by a common religion, but now, it was maintained, religion was strictly a matter of individual conscience; it could no longer be considered a national or state or group matter. One might be an atheist and yet a Jew. This is what the enlightenment and the separation of church and state meant.

But what would take the place of Judaism as a cohesive force? A common spiritual culture, answered Dubnow. A common culture, expressed in Yiddish, said the Galut nationalists. While Zionists despaired of the future of the Diaspora, Galut and cultural nationalism attempted to build a *geder*, or fence, to protect Jews in the Diaspora from assimilation and from the spiritual erosion that might result from exposure to intense anti-Semitism. Yiddish was to serve as the foundation for Jewish group survival and as the vessel into which Jews were to pour their cultural riches.

This was the cultural picture in the 20's among those who had drifted away from Torah Judaism, and even some who had not drifted away. With varying emphases, the Bundists, the cultural and Galut nationalists, the Yiddish territorialists, and some Labor Zionists, alike sought positive values for their Jewish life among the nations of the world, and ways and means of strengthening and expressing these values. One of the more important institutions created to implement this program was the Yiddish Scientific Institute.

Yivo's Founding

One day in July 1924, Dr. I. N. Steinberg, future leader of the Freeland League, entertained some friends in his Berlin apartment. Among his guests were A. S. Sachs, Yiddish writer and socialist of New York, and Na-hum Shtif, Yiddish philologist and socialist, who then lived in Berlin. Sachs took this occasion to propose the establishment of a Yiddish scientific academy. There was no warm response to the suggestion except from Shtif, who had himself been thinking about such an institution for years. After leaving

Dr. Steinberg's apartment, Shtif continued to dream and plan, and in February 1925, he prepared and sent out among his friends a memorandum of over thirty pages on the subject. Living from hand to mouth, Shtif was too poor to send out all his copies at once; he sent them one by one as he found money for postage.

That same summer a conference was held to consider Shtif's memorandum. His friends in Vilna gave it the warmest reception; Sachs had already lost interest in the idea. It was agreed that the Yiddish Scientific Institute should be founded in Vilna, "the Jerusalem of Lithuania," and that branches would be established in other parts of the world. In 1939, following the partition of Poland by Germany and Russia, the American branch took over the Vilna center, and some of the staff members came to New York. Until 1942, the Institute found temporary quarters in the Hias building, then it moved into the old building of the Jewish Theological Seminary, purchased for Yivo by its friends.

What have been and are the aims of Yivo? The answer to this question is twofold.

A Jewish Social Research

SINCE the Jews constitute a distinguishable social group—characterized by a culture different from that of the people among whom they live—they should have, said the founders of Yivo, an institution for research into Jewish social character and problems, and the various aspects of Jewish culture.

The social sciences represent the self-consciousness of a society; through them a community acquires knowledge of itself. As in other fields, the Jewish social sciences would follow the interests and everyday affairs of men, using the methods of exact measurement that distinguish the natural sciences. Nor would they stop with quantitative analysis; a social science study is more than a description of events—it attempts an explanation of change.

Yivo would concern itself specifically with the sociological laws at the basis of Jewish social relations and intercourse, the politics

of Jewish group life, the economic aspects of Jewish life, and the structures and functions of its organizations—its charities, its synagogues, its schools. Historical data and interpretation would be the indispensable source of material for the evaluation of all manner of social processes.

Accordingly, the Jewish social scientist studies the history and techniques of the institutional structure of Jewish communal life by investigating concrete situations. He also pursues studies in such semi-social sciences as social psychology and philosophy, social ethics, and the sociology of education, and the social-science aspects of linguistics—for the history of words sheds light on the history of institutions and modes of thought. He studies the social origins and impact of the arts. All his work is rooted in the conviction that if the Jewish people are to continue to live as a relatively autonomous cultural group, they must make an effort to know and understand themselves.

Nothing Jewish is alien to the Jewish social scientist. While his material is furnished by documents and other forms of historical evidence—customs, traditions, institutions, language, and art forms—the goal of his work and that of his associates is the ordering of the knowledge of periods and institutions in a consecutive and comprehensive view of the community. He is not obsessed with a "great man" theory of history: what he seeks is knowledge of the life forms created by individuals living and working and thinking and suffering together, influencing one another, influencing other groups and being influenced by them.

How do Jews live? How do they make a living? How many Jews are there in a community? What is their birth rate, their marriage rate, their divorce rate, their death rate? How do they stand in relation to others? What do they think? What is their folklore? Their language? Their literature? How do they educate their children? How many intermarry? How many go to the synagogue? What are their charities? What do they read? What are the relations between parents and children? It is to these

and hundreds of similar questions that the Jewish social scientist in Yivo seeks answers.

The Language of Social Research

It is apparent that such a program of Jewish social research can be carried out in any language. In the *Yankee City Series*, a staff of thirty social anthropologists from Harvard University and the University of Chicago report their five-year study of a northern Massachusetts seaport town. A description and analysis of the Jewish community of the town is included. The study is in English. (See "The Jews of Yankee City" by Harold Orlansky in the January 1946 *COMMENTARY*.) The Conference on Jewish Relations, headed by Professor Salo W. Baron, has made studies of a number of Jewish communities in New Jersey and elsewhere—in English; and it publishes a distinguished quarterly, *Jewish Social Studies*, in English. A social scientist may need to know Yiddish, just as he may need to know Russian, Polish, or Indian dialects, depending on the nationality of the group he studies and the language in which the documents he studies are written. But ordinarily the fruit of his research and thought appears in the language of the country in which he works. Why does Yivo in America persist in using Yiddish as the language for its research, publications, and lectures?

Here we come upon Yivo's second aim—its stressing of the Yiddish language as the living folk-speech of the living Jewish folk. In this strong interest in Yiddish, even in America, Yivo is faithful to a tenet of its basic philosophy.

Yiddish, a language with a history of about a thousand years, was in 1925 the language of about two-thirds of the Jews of the world. In Eastern Europe it was spoken by practically all Jews. It was the language of the family and market place, of folk tales and learned sermons, of schools and Yeshivas.

The Bundists, the Galut nationalists, the Labor Zionists, and the territorialists were socialists who thought in terms of democracy and the life of the common man, and they

planned for the life of the great Jewish masses. It is probable that at first the Bundists emphasized Yiddish because they desired to reach the Jewish masses with their propaganda. At that time, Hebrew was looked upon by the Left as a sort of clerical Latin, a language for the elite, the *yachsonim*; it was associated with obscurantism and orthodoxy. Religion being a strictly private matter, the language associated with it need not be the language of the Jewish people. The Jews as a cultural group had their own language, and this was Yiddish—"portable homeland" of the Jewish people, as it has been called.

Yiddish became the language of Yivo in Vilna because it was the language of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe. But this was not the only consideration that led to the choice of Yiddish.

The great masses of the Jews did not wish to lose their identity as Jews. Fathers and mothers wanted their children to remain Jews. But what does it mean to be a Jew if one does not adhere to Judaism as a religion? An agnostic or atheist non-Jew, living in a Christian community, still can and does celebrate Christmas and Easter, and can and does observe Sunday as his day of rest. The Christian who gives up Christianity may suffer only a small change; but the Jew who gives up Judaism gives up a religion that was also a way of life.

The place of Judaism as a religion was to be taken by Yiddish and Jewish culture. Through these, the Jewish people would be able to maintain their energizing spiritual memories; intimate spiritual communion between a Jew and his people, between parents and children, would be possible. Jewish culture and Yiddish would serve as means of fighting assimilation, and would give the Jew inner strength with which to stand up against anti-Semitism.

In a word, the Yiddish Scientific Institute was established to help the Jew and the Jewish community to know and examine themselves—through Yiddish and social research. For the Jews, said Yivo, social research and Yiddish are the two sides of the

same coin. The impulse behind both is not apologetic, as is the case with so much "minority" cultural activity, aimed at validating, through establishing "contributions" to America, the right of the minority to belong. Its interest is in ministering to the self-understanding and inner strength of the Jewish group.

Indeed, those who superficially assume a kind of narrowness on the part of Yivo because of its use of Yiddish will find that it has nothing to blush about in respect to parochialism of interest and point of view as compared to the Jewish historical research and sociology sponsored by the time-honored and presumably more "Americanized" Jewish institutions. In fact, many feel that it is Yivo that has broader horizons and the more integrative approach as it studies the relationship of various phases of Jewish life to general society.

Yiddish in America

WHEN one observes the work of Yivo, visits its archives and library, attends its conferences, speaks with its workers and directors, one becomes impressed with the fact that here is the traditional devotion to the study of Torah transferred to social research. Here are the same love of learning, *le-shmo*, for its own sake, the same respect for objective scholarship, the same readiness to sacrifice comforts for the sake of knowledge, and the same optimism.

But Yivo has not been able to establish the same close connection with the Jewish community as a whole that it enjoyed when its center was in Vilna. So we come to the heart of Yivo's problem in the United States.

A Jewish social research institute in Eastern Europe, if it was to be a grass roots institution, had perforce to choose Yiddish as its language. Today, in the United States, there may be a million or more Jews who know Yiddish, but only few make an effort to teach the language to their children at home or in school. The Eastern European Jewish centers have disappeared; immigration to the United States is, and seems destined to remain, negligible. The life cord

between Yiddish and the Jewish masses has been severed. How can a scientific institute devoted to Jewish social research, that chooses Yiddish for its language, be said to manifest a popular orientation if the people it works among no longer speak Yiddish?

The first of the two reasons, then, for the original choice of Yiddish in Vilna does not, one would think, obtain in the United States today.

As time goes on, Yivo, in order to make its findings available to other scholars and to American Jews, will need to publish its studies in English. A beginning in this direction has already been made: Yivo's study of the classification of Jewish immigrants to the United States has been translated into English, as well as its investigation of the contributions of German scholars to Nazi theory and practice—*Hitler's Professors*, referred to earlier. In the near future it will publish a collection of short stories and essays by Peretz in Yiddish, together with an English translation. The *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, a collection of English translations of Yiddish papers, just published, foreshadows Yivo's development into a bilingual institution.

One says "bilingual" because Yivo will not give up Yiddish. The second reason for the original choice of Yiddish still is, and will remain, valid. Yiddish should be studied and used, as much as circumstances permit, as the repository of much that is culturally and spiritually valuable to the Jewish people. Furthermore, to a considerable number of Jews, it will always provide the answer to the problem of Jewish survival. The religious Jews will continue to have Judaism in its many different phases. Zionists will have Jewish nationhood, directly or vicariously. Yiddishists will have Jewish culture and Yiddish.

No one who respects the human spirit could wish to see Yiddish die out. The Jew in the United States who lacks Judaism, Zionism, Jewish culturism, or Yiddishism to give content to his Jewishness, to serve as a bridge from generation to generation, to act as a shield against anti-Semitism,

would seem to face a tragic plight—as indeed many American Jews do today.

Viewed in such light, Yivo's insistence on the use of Sholom Aleichem's language in the United States represents a positive value in American Jewish life. From the standpoint, moreover, of a rich cultural pluralism, of which Professor Horace M. Kallen has written so eloquently, and which represents the full development of freedom in the philosophy of Jeffersonian democracy, Yivo's Yiddish has some notable values to contribute. No totalitarian notion of a mechanistic melting-pot should stand between American Jews and these truths; we have no right to consider any language or culture foreign to America except one that pretends to exclusiveness.

The Yivo Record

WHILE there may be differences of opinion as to the future of Yivo's language, there can be none as to the high value of its social research program for American Jews. Yivo has conducted its work in a spirit of strict impartiality, without taking any position on religion, Zionist politics, capitalism, or any other controversial issue; it has tried to do its work with complete objectivity.

Yivo's work in economics and statistics is directed by Jacob Lestchinsky, former leader in Labor Zionist circles in Europe, and a pioneer in the collection and interpretation of the statistical aspects of Jewish life. (His first work was a social study of a Jewish small town in Russia.) Research in psychology and education is directed by Leibush Lehrer, psychologist, a recognized theoretician of non-partisan Jewish culturism. He is a graduate (M.A.) of Clark University. Max Weinreich is general research secretary. A philologist and social psychologist with a Ph.D. from Marburg, he has been a Rockefeller Foundation fellow. He, together with Lestchinsky, Lehrer, and Jacob Shatzky, was among Yivo's six or seven founders.

These men, together with Elias Tcherikower, who died recently, and a number of assistants, have been able to produce a

body of notable works during their six years in the United States. "The Saga of America's 'Russian' Jews" by Solomon F. Bloom in the February 1946 *COMMENTARY* evaluated the first two volumes of Yivo's monumental study of the Jewish labor movement in the United States. Another important work is Dr. Joseph Kissman's studies in the history of Rumanian Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries. Especially important are the sections dealing with Jewish emigration from Rumania up to World War I, and the Jewish labor movement in Rumania until the end of the 19th century. His description of the saga of the *fussgeyers*, or wanderers, groups of Jewish workers and small traders who walked from Rumania to Hamburg and there took boat for the United States, deserves to become part of Jewish folklore. One should mention also Dr. Shatzky's study of Jewish educational policies in Poland during the sixty years following 1806; a two-volume work on the Jews of France, edited by Tcherikower; Dr. Raphael Mahler's study of the struggle between Haskalah and Hasidism in Galicia in the first half of the 19th century; Shlomo Noble's study of *Chumesh-Taytch*, the language of the traditional Yiddish translation of the Bible; the many important contributions in the quarterly periodical *Yivo Bleter*; and the philological studies in the quarterly *Yiddische Shprach*.

A proper evaluation of Yivo as a social science research group can be made only in terms of the achievements of the social sciences in general. Does Yivo make use of all the tools that have been developed by the social sciences for a better understanding of social processes and how they affect groups and individuals? Particularly now, when it is established in the United States, where investigations in the social sciences are in general more elaborate and carried on with greater attention to the refinements of methodological techniques, does such a question—implying as it does the further question as to the interrelation between Yivo and the social sciences in America—become important.

A good opportunity for the evaluation of Yivo is given American social scientists by the appearance of the *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, a volume of translations into English of work published by Yivo in the past few years. In certain spheres—history, folklore, economics and statistics, linguistics—the work of Yivo scholars has always ranked with the best done in this country. In the fields of sociology and social psychology, Yivo seems to have turned to American work with great interest, and, judging from the evidence in the *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, is rapidly assimilating the best American techniques.

The Future in America

WE FIND, for example, "The Effect of Culture Change Upon the Personalities of Second Generation Reservation Indians" by David Rodnick, a careful study in a field only recently opened by American and British anthropologists—the impact of cultural changes on personality. The author points out that the experience of Indian children parallels that of the children of Jewish immigrants. Samuel Koenig, who made a pioneer investigation of an American Jewish community, contributes "Methods of Studying Jewish Life in America," which utilizes experience gained in the elaborate studies recently made of American communities. Moses Kligsberg, in his paper "Socio-Psychological Problems Reflected in the Yivo Autobiographical Contest," reports on a favorite form of Yivo project—a contest in autobiographical writing conducted for the purpose of getting life histories for socio-psychological analysis. This work, begun by Yivo in Europe, ties in with a recent trend in American work, where we find the life-history being used more and more to supplement less intensive types of study. Here, Yivo is in a position to benefit from American techniques as well as supply leads to American workers. Leibush Lehrer, in "Jewish Elements in the Personality of the Jewish Child in America," reports on an investigation into the extent and form of Jewish consciousness in Jewish children

of different ages and backgrounds. Again, this investigation ties in with similar work on children of different nationalities and races, and shows how profitable the interaction between Yivo's work and the work of American social scientists can be.

In addition to its own publications, Yivo has a library with over 50,000 books and more than 6,000 volumes of periodicals. It also conducts a Research Training Division, on both graduate and advanced-undergraduate levels. The courses in the Research Training Division cover a wide range of the tools and knowledge necessary for research in Jewish social studies. Thus, in 1945-6, courses were announced in Elementary Yiddish (Israel Knox), advanced Yiddish composition (Roman Jakobson, Judah A. Joffe, and others), problems of Jewish social psychology (Leibush Lehrer and Max Weinreich), history of Yiddish literature (S. Charney-Niger, Sol Liptzin, and others), elementary and intermediate Hebrew (Shlomo Noble), the Jewish community in the United States (Nathan Goldberg, Abraham G. Duker, Alexander H. Pekelis, Nathan Reich, and others), Jewish art (Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein), Jewish sociology (Nathan Goldberg, Samuel Koenig, Jacob Lestchinsky), and Jewish history (Jacob Shatzky, Rudolph Glanz, and others). Perhaps no other institution in America gives such a wide range of courses in purely secular Jewish studies.

Although Yivo has accomplished much, it should be able to achieve even more in the future as the Jewish communities in the United States arrive at self-consciousness and feel the need of fuller knowledge of their own history and character. At that point, they will undoubtedly be forced to look to Yivo's techniques and trained staff. The Jewish community of each "Yankee City" may well demand a "Yankee City" analysis of its own. When American Jewry begins to take to heart the Socratic injunction, "Know thyself," when it learns that the unexamined life is not worth living, then the pursuit of self-knowledge will inevitably bring it to the door of Yivo.

THE PARLOR TERRORISTS

Koestler's Fellow-Travelers and their Politics

NATHAN GLAZER

IF SOME of my best friends are right, and the big thing right now is to show that the Jew is as common a common man as the next, Arthur Koestler's *Thieves in the Night* is the finest thing that has happened to the Jews since Benny Leonard.

First of all, like all good public relations, it graciously meets its audience halfway. Jewish traits, Koestler admits, are as unpleasant as they are said to be: Western Jews—that is, the Jews all around us—are greasy and pushy and noisy and argumentative and just too clever, and when there's a crowd of them, it's about all you can do to stand them. But—wait until they get back to their own country! There they work on the land, they get calloused and dumb, they stop talking so much; they hate the Arabs' guts, and if need be they can rough a few of them up to keep them quiet. (Of course, there are some incorrigibles—pacifist Jews—but they disappear after the first generation.) This presumably convinces Gentiles that Jews are basically just like other people, and if it weren't for an unhappy historical circumstance, they would never have developed those objectionable traits.

NATHAN GLAZER is assistant editor of *COMMENTARY*, with special responsibility for "The Study of Man." A recent contribution of his to that department, "Government by Manipulation," evoked wide comment among social scientists. He does not often write on literature and politics, but certain recent manifestations on the American scene have led him to make this strong personal protest. Mr. Glazer's close interest in Palestine is of long standing; he was for two years editor of *Avukah Student Action*, journal of the student Zionist federation. He was born in New York in 1923 and studied at the College of the City of New York and at the University of Pennsylvania, specializing in anthropology.

But for the Jews themselves, this book can be as harmful as it is frivolous—if they take it seriously. Koestler would have us believe that the British in 1939 decided to let no more Jews into Palestine because the colonial officials in Palestine liked the Arabs' picturesqueness, and the government in London feared their strength; that there is no chance of Jews and Arabs working together because all the Arabs are medieval, hate the Jews, and are incapable of seeing their own interests; and that British imperial interests, if the British were only smart enough to see them, would best be served by a Jewish state in Palestine. So, he says, let's blow up some Arabs to show how strong and tough we are, let's blow up some English to show we can fight them too, and maybe then England will take us instead of the Arabs as their Near East protégés.

This is the program of Bauman, his terrorist leader, and Koestler undertakes to show why you, the modern, liberal American Jew, should support it. Many of my best friends—men who under normal circumstances are intelligent, tough-minded people—are happy as larks over Bauman's point of view, so perhaps we should look at his argument.

FIRST, he tells us, these terrorists are really nice fellows. Fascist? That's just propaganda. Why, they are all Social-Democrats and members of collective colonies (the only exception is a comic *yeshiva bocher*). Also (this is a more subtle argument), they have names like Joseph and Simeon; and since the first of these (Koestler's hero) is only half-Jewish, we are allowed to presume that they hardly look Jewish at all, or, at worst, like Maccabean warriors. And in case we don't get the point, the most vocal opponents of terrorism and exponents of Arab-Jewish

cooperation are called Max and Sarah—and you can imagine what they look like.

Second, the terrorists are the only ones who do anything practical. The oily Glicksteins just make speeches, but the terrorists scare the British out of giving Palestine to the Arabs and bring in illegal immigrants in violation of the White Paper. All this is documented, not only by fiction (Koestler says of his book in the dedication: "The characters in this chronicle are fictional, the happenings are not"), but in a series of news items interspersed through the fictional account.

But the documentation, both "news" and fiction, is really a fraud. The terrorist organizations—extremist offshoots of those Revisionists who admired Mussolini, fought the labor organization, and assassinated labor leaders before turning on the Arabs and British (Palestine labor calls them "fascists")—are not made up of Social-Democrats and members of collective colonies. Though one would hardly guess it from Koestler's book, they are made up of the chauvinistic and religious youth of Eastern Europe, and Palestine's unhappy Yemenite Jews who, treated everywhere as a lower caste, have turned to the terrorist organizations in their search for equality. Terrorist action on February 27, 1939 did not scare Britain out of giving Palestine to the Arabs; Koestler's news account on pages 244-248, which purports to prove so, is an artful fabrication. And the work of the terrorist organization in bringing in illegal immigrants, conducted in the white limelight of publicity so as to get funds from America, was puny (many reputable authorities say non-existent) compared to the work along the same lines of the Hagana and the labor organization.

Today, this work is still carried on by the Hagana and the Jewish Agency (see I. F. Stone's *Underground to Palestine*). But Koestler ascribes all the achievements of the Hagana—some of which required military action, but not terror—to the terrorists. Under the impression that the terrorists are responsible for every act of force in Palestine, and convinced that some were neces-

sary, as indeed they were, the unwary reader is tricked into supporting the terrorists.

AND what extraordinary fictional sleight-of-hand! One is asked to believe that a proper young Englishman, who never completely realized he was half-Jewish, could discover his identity in the bed of a fascistic Englishwoman and be shocked into becoming a *halutz*, a member of a collective, giving up his privacy and freedom—for what? "It had been a curious journey," says Koestler, "from Lily's bed to Ezra's Tower in Galilee": the word "curious" here is a classic understatement. With the reasons why this young man becomes a *halutz* and a socialist so unconvincing, we are equally unconvinced (and unmoved) by his jump to the terrorists (when the girl he loves is raped and killed by Arabs); and not knowing what he believes, we don't know what he has to give up to become a terrorist. From Koestler's account, it requires little change and no sacrifice—as little, in fact, as is required of the American reader, won over by Koestler's argument to the terrorist position, when he demands unflinchingly from the safety of his parlor, "Let's you and him fight."

This, indeed, is the result intended by Koestler's book. He portrays an intolerable situation. Something must be done. "I will either get an ulcer or join the terrorists," says his hero. How easy for comfortable middle-class people safe on Central Park West or Shaker Heights to succumb to Koestler's up-to-date, "disabused" plea for the support of unrestricted and irresponsible terror—today against the British, tomorrow against the Arabs, and next day against the Jewish "moderates." (And on a slightly lower level, we have the heroic pageantries of Ben Hecht's play, frantically applauded by New Yorkers.)

But what if the terrorist policy advocated reduces still further the slim hopes for legal Jewish immigration, makes harder the work of illegal immigration, endangers the fifty years of labor that went into the building of Jewish Palestine? Such practical matters are unimportant to Koestler. True, he tries

to make a realistic case for the benefits of terrorism, but his argument is inconsistent and weak. The real attraction of the terrorist policy, for him, is that it prevents ulcers—kills Jews, perhaps, but prevents ulcers.

But ulcers may yet be necessary a while to keep the Jews alive. The alternative (so uncomfortable for so many people) to emotional orgies and sloganized "action" is the struggle with the political realities of the situation, the hard, grim business of thinking in a disciplined way to analyze the present Palestine dilemma, and find intelligent means of meeting it. People will apparently try anything but that. Yet face it we must. The notions that *practical* politics may be relevant to the Jewish condition, and that reason may be relevant to politics, seem foreign to Koestler, and to his Broadway-Hollywood prototypes, Mr. Hecht and the rest. Which is also true of their fellow-travelers, most of them novitiates, many of them "radicals" suddenly awakened to the existence of specific Jewish problems alongside the Negro, Indian, and other problems that used to hold the foreground of their attention.

Perhaps we cannot expect of the average man-in-the-street too rational a response to the frustration of seeing the Jewish remnant hungering for emigration, a Jewish land burning to receive them—and the British standing between. But the irrationality of Jewish intellectuals and Jewish community leaders is something else again. They should be warned that their frivolousness can hurt.

For while parlor adventurism may be indulged in without any danger of affecting the actions, say, of the Big Four, it is—for good or ill—quite a different matter in Jewish politics and Jewish policies. The Jewish people is small; its tasks must be small; and what tasks it sets itself, it may well achieve or fail to achieve through its own efforts. So that while we cannot make socialism in America, for example, it is perfectly conceivable to make it in Jewish Palestine—or at least to the extent that anything can be made socialist in a non-socialist world.

And while individual Jews or the Jewish community as a whole cannot determine the military policy of the American government, or of the Russian government, whatever be the force of our praise or denunciation, we *can* affect the policies of the Jewish people. How American Jews think decided what policies were voted in Basel, and these policies may well affect the fate of the 600,000 Jews in Palestine, the hundreds of thousands who desire to go there, the further numbers who may some day be impelled to go there. Accordingly, our attitudes on Jewish politics are objectively *responsible*; everything we do matters—for the Jews. The error of so many Jews is to carry into the limited Jewish realm the irresponsible attitudes in which we can safely (though without credit) indulge ourselves with respect to world politics.

In the present case, our personal tastes as to the Arabs, or our angry feelings against the British, while legitimate emotions, must not be allowed to confuse our thinking. If friendly relations between the Arab and Jewish masses are essential to safeguard the Palestine Jewish community and enable immigration to continue, or if the continuance of the tie with Britain is still necessary for Jewish hopes, then the search for some way to effect such policies must be paramount, ulcers or no.

But, abstaining from thought, American Jews continue intransigently to demand an independent democratic Jewish state in Palestine—without bothering to explain how in the world an independent democratic state in Palestine could remain Jewish. And this impossibility has become the Zionist program. And, in turn, this irresponsibility has been a major influence in dissipating what little store of good will Jews had accumulated among the Arabs in Palestine.

Has Koestler, in his advocacy of terrorism, backtracked from his position in *The Yogi and the Commissar?* I think not. In both cases we have not reasoned positions, but symptoms. Koestler, as much as the Jews whom he so labels, is "the extreme condition of mankind"—or at least that por-

tion thereof made up of the intellectuals. There is a crisis in radical thought, and, as has been often said, Koestler expresses this crisis rather than does anything about it. Jumping from one extreme position to another, he is, it is true, always relevant—but always wrong, and the consistency in his thought is an external consistency to be found only in his personality.

We must learn to recognize Koestler's call for the abdication of intelligence in favor of the primacy of the sympathetic nervous system for what it is, a vulgar invitation to intellectual—and not only intellectual—suicide.

Philip Rahv is wrong when he writes (in his review published in the December 1946 COMMENTARY), "The real issue is a political one, and that is the way Koestler approaches it." This indeed is just what Koestler does not do; for him, terror plays the classic role of drama: emotional catharsis. One feels good after firing a gun, after knowing it has hit a human form; but where is politics in that?

BUT in saying this, we must go further and divest this question of all hypocrisy, and admit frankly that, of course, almost every Jew felt good when he read that Jews were "fighting back." (Even the Palestinians, who knew they and their achievements would be destroyed if the terrorists were to get the upper hand in Jewish policy, could not help being thrilled by the shots, feeling that "our boys" were out there fighting for them—see Shlomo Katz, December 1946 COMMENTARY). And how could we fail to be thrilled? Haven't we all been taught to cheer when David turns on Goliath, when the victim turns on the bully—and we half expect David to win. We Jews, besides, were forced to suffer for five years the thought that our people in Europe were being led passively to slaughter, with only a few crumbs of resistance to feed our desire to fight back. In the Warsaw ghetto, every Jew felt that it was worth a hundred Jewish lives to take one Nazi life; but the

same philosophy carried to Palestine, with the British cast in the role of Nazis, throws away the chance of hundreds of thousands of Jews for secure and decent lives.

We cannot deny the emotional response, but we cannot then say that the vicarious pleasures of long-distance violence are a true guide to political action. Koestler has proposed an apolitical, we might say an aesthetic, criterion for politics, and in our present situation this is more attractive to many American Jews than merely utilitarian criteria. (I forego discussing, as a well-enough understood phenomenon, the escapism, the Jewish self-hatred, and the overseas Utopianism obvious in Koestler, and in so many other new Zionist extremists.)

Mr. Rahv says (though in another context) "Consciousness . . . is not enough"; beyond consciousness one seeks for "feeling," "action," even "existence." But in politics these are traps, and consciousness is quite enough. The intellectuals are still too close to the rational heritage to say openly "terror for terror's sake and to hell with the consequences," and Mr. Rahv feels impelled—like Koestler—to cite the Irish case to show that terror can *work*. The poverty of the example informs us of the flabbiness of the motivation, for the Jewish position in Palestine is more akin to that of the Irish Protestants, and the demand for a Jewish state in all Palestine as illogical as would have been the demand for a Protestant state in all Ireland.

As we go further in time from a horror that was beyond us either to prevent or to understand, one hopes that the desire to repeat Masada and go down in a glorious mass-suicide will also fade. The Jews of Palestine, living in the midst of realities, have already spurned those who would commit them to such a path. Let us leave *Goetterdaemmerung* for Goering *et al.*

The only way to the solution of Palestine's problems is the sober, unglamorous way of disciplined intelligence guiding responsible action. Perhaps that way will not work either. But nothing else will.

THE MONTH IN HISTORY

United Nations

THE meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in the fall of 1946 was the most revealing international gathering since the end of World War II. Because of the concurrent meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers in New York, it became a stage on which the world's leading statesmen played.

The General Assembly was not necessarily the most important of international gatherings. It was, after all, a body without the power to enforce any of its decisions. And the efforts of the Big Four foreign ministers to complete the peace treaties to be imposed on the Nazi satellite states highlighted the fact that the United Nations as an organization had no voice in the crucial decisions of the peace and that these decisions were being made without benefit of the rules of the UN charter. Yet the decisions would create conditions that the United Nations would have to face in its assigned role of keeper of international peace and freedom.

What the meeting did was give the nations, great and small, chances to present their hopes and fears to the world. It also provided an opportunity for international attitudinizing and propaganda. The nation that made the best of the latter opportunity was the USSR.

"The Month in History" examines world events with special reference to their imprint on the destiny of Jews. SIDNEY HERTZBERG, who writes this regular monthly department, has lengthy experience as a news analyst, and it is his endeavor to present significant developments with clarity and documentation. Mr. Hertzberg has been editor of *Common Sense*, foreign correspondent for the *New York Times*, associate editor of *Current History*, and contributing editor of *Time*. His reports, like other contributions to *COMMENTARY*, reflect the writer's judgment, and do not necessarily express the opinion of the editors.

The charter of the United Nations had been designed to eradicate the evils of old-style capitalist colonial imperialism. It erected no barriers against the new-style expansionism in which the Soviets were engaging. Unlike the United States and Great Britain, the Soviet Union was primarily a land power. It expanded like a glacier, while other powers expanded over water and had to throw lines across vast distances to maintain their influence. Having either physically incorporated its strategic outposts or achieved political and economic domination of them through secret bargaining in Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam, the Soviet Union could adopt an attitude of moral superiority. And outside the edges of the glacier, it had, in the various Communist parties, an international network of agents and organizations that supported its foreign and domestic objectives and attacked the policies of the nations in which they operated.

This happy strategic position the Soviet Union had achieved in violation of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter and in *ex post facto* violation of the United Nations charter, which was written after the position was won. But now the Soviet Union was ready to make the best of all the best phrases in the United Nations Charter to which it offered undying if not retroactive devotion.

The Peace Lovers

There was first that magical term, "peace-loving." All members of the United Nations were by definition peace-loving, which, if true, would have obviated the necessity for a United Nations. They were peace-loving themselves and also the final judges of what other nations were peace-loving by virtue of the fact that they had been part of the grand alliance, a definition based on the notion that all international evil began and ended with the Axis.

This definition made possible a peace-

loving conglomeration containing an extraordinary variety of references. It included Great Britain, which, virtually unarmed, went to war against the Reich in 1939 because the Nazis invaded Poland. It also included Egypt, Syria, and Turkey, who joined the bandwagon a few weeks before the war ended in 1945. It included Poland, which had not hesitated to take a slice of Teschen under the protection of Hitler's subjection of Czechoslovakia, which preceded his invasion of Poland. India, whose unwilling 400,000,000 had been ordered into the war by unilateral decree of the British Crown, was also peace-loving, and was represented in the United Nations by a woman who had spent much of the war in jail because of her people's opposition to the command of their foreign overlord.

The Soviet Union had made a pact with Hitler that touched off World War II, had annexed a large part of Poland under the protection of Hitler's invasion of that country, and had invaded Finland; but the Soviet Union too turned peace-loving when it became the object of the Wehrmacht it had helped unleash.

It did not matter that the whole world lived in apprehension of Soviet Russia's military expansionism and ideological attrition. The United Nations Charter was clear: the Soviet Union was peace-loving. With these credentials, it could fulminate against Franco as a threat to the peace. It could point to decimated Greece as another threat. The Soviet Union was guarding the peace. And while the Soviet spokesmen denounced the dictator Franco, it was not appropriate to ask about Stalin.

The Soviet Union was also democratic. Not only was the Soviet Union democratic, but its satellites were also democratic. At Yalta and Moscow, the Soviet Union found the Americans and the English persistent about free elections in Central Europe. It cost the Soviet Union little to accede to this Western idiosyncrasy. In a police state, "free" elections were no trouble; they were also an excellent opportunity to discover and liquidate "quislings."

Subject Peoples

Annexation of territory was also a deplorable act under the United Nations Charter. Having annexed part of Poland

and all of East Prussia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, having acquired Bucovina and Bessarabia from Rumania, and Petsamo and the Karelian Isthmus from Finland, having quietly incorporated South Sakhalin and the Kuriles into its own system, the Soviet Union was for the moment content with this pre-UN Charter booty, all "legalized" in the secret sessions of the big powers or simply taken with no questions asked and no explanations offered.

Now the Soviet Union could find itself in a state of high moral indignation over the indefensible request of the Union of South Africa for the annexation of the Southwest African Mandate, and over the unsatisfactory terms of the trusteeships for former mandated territories. There were none in the United Nations to ask whether the Baltic peoples in the Soviet Union were the victims of annexation, or whether the Slavic states of Eastern Europe were more than Soviet trusteeships, or indeed whether many millions in the Soviet Union itself were not subject peoples.

Disarmament offered another rostrum for Soviet morality. Since the Soviet Union had no atom bomb, since a large part of its industrial capacity had been destroyed, and even its vast manpower resources weakened, the Soviet Union could afford with little sacrifice to advocate disarmament. It was doubtful, in any case, that physical armament was the chief weapon in Communism's arsenal for world conquest. Stalinism was likely to place greater reliance on its totalitarian ideology carried forward by an international monolithic apparatus, on the economic disasters of capitalism, on the blindness of narrow nationalism, and on the weakness of democratic socialism.

Minority Rights

Perhaps the most exalted heights of moral indignation were reached in the Soviet Union's support of India's request for action against the Union of South Africa because of discrimination against Indians in that country. While the world listened to Soviet denunciations of South Africa's violation of human rights—mostly in the form of political and economic discrimination—no voice was raised in behalf of the millions of victims of Soviet imprisonment, torture, and slavery.

Somehow or other, Soviet propaganda had persuaded much of the world that while racial or religious persecution of Africans, Jews, and Indians was a transgression of human rights, the torture and liquidation of Socialist and other political dissidents was yeoman work in behalf of the millennium. No voice was raised in the United Nations to ask about the human rights of minorities under Stalin, even among Jews, for the Soviet Union dictatorship did not persecute Jews as Jews: it persecuted Jews when they were Zionists or when they spoke Hebrew instead of Yiddish or Russian. Nobody rose in the United Nations to point out that while Negroes were discriminated against in the United States and sometimes lynched, they were not legally slaughtered as were political dissidents in Russia, and that there were powerful national movements in the United States to correct these conditions, while any movement to defend political dissidents in Russia would have meant instant death for the movers.

In the hands of the Soviet representatives, the noble aspirations of the UN Charter were a weapon with which to beat the United Nations into insensibility. The menace to peace was Franco, the threat to human rights was Smuts, the architect of imperialism was Byrnes, the foe of democracy was Bevin. While most of these accusations were true in greater or less degree, they obscured the greater evil.

If the Soviet Union was able to assume moral leadership, it was only because the other great powers failed. The United States, whose devotion to the United Nations was on an even higher verbal plane than Stalin's, dealt with the specific issues, such as trusteeship largely on the basis of 20th-century imperialism and 19th-century militarism. The United Kingdom, finding the liquidation of the British Empire as difficult as its acquisition, resorted to legalism and debater's points.

Refugees

AFTER almost a year of discussion, the General Assembly of the United Nations, on December 15, as one of the final acts of the final meeting of its first session, approved a resolution submitting to the United Nations' member states the constitution of a projected International Refugee Organiza-

tion to replace the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's refugee functions.

The Soviet bloc fought the proposal to the end. The final vote was thirty to five, with eighteen abstentions. The negative votes were cast by the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, White Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

The resolution as adopted approved the draft constitution of the IRO, urged member states to join, provided for a preparatory commission to set it up, and approved a provisional budget of \$151,050,500 for operational expenses, \$4,800,000 for administrative expenses, and \$5,000,000 for large-scale resettlement operations.

The action of the Assembly did not mean that the IRO would actually come into existence. This could happen, according to the constitution, only after it had been accepted by fifteen member nations whose contributions would provide at least 75 per cent of its operational budget. At the time of the General Assembly's action, only nine nations had definitely indicated that they would join the IRO under the proposed scale of contributions. These countries would provide 73.5 per cent of the operational budget. They included the United States, which had provided about 75 per cent of UNRRA's budget, but was scheduled to pay only 45.75 per cent of the cost of the new organization.

The contributions of other members of the Big Five toward the operational budget were set as follows: United Kingdom 14.75 per cent, the Soviet Union 4.69 per cent, France 4.10 per cent, and China 2.50 per cent. The \$5,000,000 item for resettlement was to be financed by voluntary contributions from nations. All members of the Big Five except the Soviet Union had indicated their intention of supporting the IRO. Meantime, a preparatory commission was to pave the way for the IRO after nine nations joined.

As finally approved, the constitution provided that the opinion of the countries of origin be respected in any plans to resettle refugees near the borders of their former homelands. It also contained the provision that the wishes of the people in non-self-governing territories be taken into account before refugees can be resettled within these

territories, a provision sponsored by the Arab states with Palestine in mind. The Jewish Agency for Palestine issued a statement pointing out that Jewish immigration into Palestine was still governed only by the Mandate.

The Fight Against Resettlement

In subcommittees, committees, and in the General Assembly itself, the Soviet bloc produced an endless stream of amendments designed to prevent resettlement of refugees. Unsuccessful in every attempt, the Soviet bloc decided to vote against the IRO as a whole. A Soviet proposal that a United Nations commission investigate conditions in the DP camps was rejected in the General Assembly Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee. This Soviet amendment had the support of France's delegate, who requested that the Soviet government open camps that it maintained for prisoners of war and refugees to French officials who were trying to trace 300,000 French men and women, many of whom had been forced into German army service. The proposal was defeated after Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who fought tirelessly and ably against the Soviet attacks, pointed out that all possible safeguards in the DP camps had been taken, and that the authorities had already demonstrated their devotion to duty by repatriating more than 2,000,000 Soviet nationals, about 600,000 Poles, and nearly 100,000 Yugoslavs.

The Soviet bloc's fight against resettlement was also carried on in the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly where the IRO budget was considered.

As a result of Soviet pressure, the committee adopted an amendment recommending that "the cost of repatriation to the extent practicable should be borne by Germany and Japan for persons displaced by those powers from countries occupied by them." The amount provided for this in the budget was \$16,500,000. A Soviet proposal that the words "to the extent practicable" be eliminated was defeated. A White Russian amendment which would have included the cost of maintenance as well as repatriation was also defeated. The budget provision for maintenance amounted to \$103,000,000.

The final vote in the Administrative and Budgetary Committee adopting the IRO budget was only fourteen to six, with thirteen abstentions. Adoption of the IRO's proposed scale of assessment came by a vote of thirteen to six. These votes were reflections of the lack of enthusiasm among the nations for the IRO in general and for its budget in particular.

Relief

While adoption of the IRO resolution by the General Assembly provided some hope that the refugee functions of UNRRA would be continued under international responsibility, the relief functions of UNRRA were left to individual nations. This became inevitable when the United States and Britain rejected a proposal by Fiorello H. LaGuardia, retiring Director-General of UNRRA, for the creation of an emergency food fund.

The United States decided to carry out its own relief program on the following conditions: (1) A nation must prove need. (2) There must be full accountability for distribution. (3) Recipient governments will not "be allowed to feed political supporters and starve opponents." (4) Food and goods "desperately" needed here will "not be given to countries which are diverting their manpower and facilities away from the production of the necessities of life which they are asking others to supply."

In the end, the General Assembly adopted a resolution urging various measures to overcome the shortage of some foodstuffs, but leaving any actual allocations to the individual contributing countries, which would conduct their relief negotiations bilaterally.

Human Rights

THE subject of human rights in general received little attention from the General Assembly of the United Nations. Panama proposed two drafts of bills of rights for men and nations. They were referred to the Economic and Social Council of the General Assembly with the recommendation that the Council report to the Assembly the following year. In the brief discussion preceding this action, Australia urged the establishment of a world court of human rights, and Liberia argued for expulsion of United Nations members refusing to comply.

Indians in South Africa

But human rights in a specific case won a victory that set a precedent in international relations and gave promise of specific implementation of the relevant sections of the charter on this matter.

India had brought before the General Assembly its old complaint of South African discrimination against Indians in economic, political, civic, and social life. That India had a case was generally recognized. But a group which included the United States and the United Kingdom urged that the complaint be sent to the International Court of Justice for determination of the proper legal procedure. A larger group, including the Soviet bloc, favored acceptance of jurisdiction and some immediate action.

The General Assembly decided that it was a matter that required a two-thirds vote. The resolution for referral to the Court failed despite a majority of thirty-one to twenty-nine, with two abstentions. The alternate resolution was adopted by a vote of thirty-two to fifteen, with seven abstentions—just enough to carry under the two-thirds rule. The text of the resolution follows.

"The General Assembly, having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, and having considered the matter:

"(1) States that, because of that treatment, friendly relations between the two member States have been impaired, and unless a satisfactory settlement is reached, these relations are likely to be further impaired;

"(2) Is of the opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments, and the relevant provisions of the Charter;

"(3) Therefore, requests the two Governments to report to the next session of the General Assembly the measures adopted to this effect."

Should the governments accede to the General Assembly's request to report at the following session, any subsequent action by the Assembly could still be only in the form of a request. But the resolution shattered the notion that discrimination within a na-

tion could not be a proper subject of international action. And the disadvantage to the nation so charged was immediately demonstrated in the Assembly's refusal to approve annexation of the Southwest African Mandate by the Union of South Africa.

What would happen should a similar case be brought against one of the great powers remained to be seen.

Genocide

The General Assembly asked the Economic and Social Council to draft an international convention on genocide for the Assembly's consideration at its following session. The crime of genocide was defined as "a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups" whether on religious, racial, political, or any other grounds.

The resolution suggested embodiment of the following principles: Genocide was an international crime for which private individuals and public officials could be punished; states should be urged to enact anti-genocide laws; international collaboration was necessary to prevent genocide.

Trusteeship

ONE of the provisions of the United Nations charter on trusteeship provided that the terms of trusteeship for each area be agreed upon by "states directly concerned." Should Palestine be offered for trusteeship by the Mandatory Power, the precise definition of this term might seriously affect the future of the Jewish national home.

The Soviet Union maintained that all Big Five powers should automatically be considered "states directly concerned" in all trusteeship agreements though they need not act in all instances. Some observers reported that this position was taken to guarantee a Soviet veto over any trusteeship terms that might be written for Palestine and the Italian colonies.

Seeing little hope for agreement on a definition of the phrase, the United States suggested that the trusteeships be approved and the Trusteeship Council established without defining the phrase, and with the understanding that no state would thereby waive its right to a claim to be considered a state involved when the Assembly did get around to defining it. This artful *modus vivendi* was adopted.

Zionist Congress

THE 22nd World Zionist Congress, the first since 1939, ended a sixteen-day session in Basel on December 24 without settling either of the two most crucial issues facing it, unable to agree on an executive, repudiating the leadership of its aged leader, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, and leaving the world Zionist movement in the most critical state of internal disruption in its history.

The two most pressing immediate issues before the Congress, which were essentially one issue, were whether to participate in the London Conference called by the Mandatory Power to arrive at a permanent settlement, and whether that settlement should be partition.

On the first point, the Congress resolution, passed by a vote of 171 to 154, read:

"The World Zionist Congress resolves that under the existing circumstances, the Zionist movement will not participate in the conference on Palestine which the British Government is holding in London. If a change should take place in the situation, the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization shall consider the matter and decide whether to participate in the conference or not."

What change in the situation would make participation possible was not specified. The tenor of the debate indicated that it would be a minimum guarantee in advance from the British of a viable state in an adequate area of Palestine.

On the second issue, the Congress reaffirmed the Biltmore Declaration calling for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. It took no position on partition as such. However, an amendment to the resolution specifying that the Jewish Commonwealth was to be "in a whole and undivided Palestine" was defeated.

Other decisions of the Congress included:

Unalterable opposition to the federalization plan proposed by the British government.

Opposition to any trusteeship for Palestine, the terms of which would postpone or prevent Jewish statehood.

Reaffirmation of the right of every Jew needing a home to find it in Palestine.

Repudiation of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern groups and a determination to

combat them, though not in cooperation with the British.

Condemnation of "murder and shedding of innocent blood as a means of political warfare."

Repudiation of the various Bergson groups in the United States.

Continued efforts to explore the possibilities of Jewish-Arab cooperation.

Dr. Weizmann, who favored unconditional participation in the London Conference and acceptance of partition, refused to stand for re-election as President of the World Zionist Organization under any other conditions, and refused to accept the inactive post of Honorary President. His election was opposed by American General Zionists, by the Mizrachi, and by the Revisionists. He was offered support by the Labor Zionists provided he accepted their conditions. He was acceptable to the Hashomer Hatzair.

The selection of a nineteen-member Executive was left to the new Actions Committee of seventy-seven members, an unprecedented action. After five days of wrangling, the Actions Committee reappointed most of the old Executive and left the Presidency vacant.

Deep Differences

Not only was there a deep split in the Congress as a whole, there were also serious differences within all the major parties. However, the General Zionists, representing middle-class elements, emerged as the dominant force in the Congress, inching out the Labor Zionists who had played this role in the past. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, President of the Zionist Organization of America, appeared to be the most influential single personality.

Internecine strife among the General Zionists was minimized by a decision releasing individual delegates to vote as they saw fit on basic political issues. On the whole, General Zionists opposed participation in the London conference and Zionist initiation of any partition proposal. Dr. Silver; Dr. Israel Goldstein, former ZOA President; Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Vice-President of the ZOA; and Moshe Sneh, member of the Jewish Agency Executive and reputed leader of Hagana, were the most vigorous advocates of these views. How-

ever, there was prominent opposition to this position among General Zionists. Louis Lipsky, American member of the Executive, felt that British intentions should be tested in London before more vigorous action was undertaken. Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Isaac Gruenbaum, members of the Executive, were for participation and acceptance of partition. So was Professor Selig Brodetsky, Chairman of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and member of the Agency Executive. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, whose mission to Washington in behalf of the Executive to obtain the administration's support for partition subjected him to heavy attack, strongly defended his efforts.

Hadassah supported the defeated resolution for participation in the London conference. Mrs. Judith Epstein, President of Hadassah, declared that if the British should present a partition plan similar to the Jewish Agency's, it should be given "most careful, serious consideration."

A variation developed between the positions of the Palestinian and American Labor Zionists. The Palestinian Laborites decided to support participation in the London Conference on the basis of the Biltmore Declaration rather than the partition proposal evolved by the Executive under the chairmanship of David Ben Gurion, who was also spokesman for Palestine Labor. Ben Gurion suggested what this meant in stating that "if Britain proposes an acceptable compromise, the executive should bring it for discussion before the authoritative organ of the world Zionist movement." The entire Labor Zionist bloc supported Ben Gurion's position by a vote of eighty-nine to thirty.

The United States and Canadian Laborites gave unconditional support to the position of the outgoing executive. Dr. Hayim Greenberg, spokesman for the American Labor Zionists, urged a frank fight for participation. "We cannot behave as the Oriental shopkeeper who asks for more than he expects to get," Dr. Greenberg said. However, he urged the Congress not to adopt final aims and to allow freedom of decision for the Executive.

Moshe Shertok, chief of the Agency's political department, and Berl Locker, member of the Executive in charge of political affairs in London, both Labor Zionists, also urged support of the Executive's action.

The Mizrachi, religious Zionists, opposed both participation and partition.

The Hashomer Hatzair remained united for a binational state.

The Revisionists, militant rightists, participating in a Zionist Congress for the first time in nine years, unsuccessfully advocated establishment of a provisional Jewish government. Their continued participation in the World Zionist Organization was made conditional on dissolution of their New Zionist Organization. Disputes between Laborites and Revisionists were among the most bitter in the Congress, with the former denouncing the latter as "Jewish fascists."

Attitude on Terrorism

While the Congress denounced terrorism, the Irgun and Stern groups found some ill-concealed support. Meir Grossman, spokesman for the Revisionists, urged resistance—"all forms of resistance." Dr. Silver's denunciations of terrorism were circumspect.

It was Dr. Weizmann who rejected violence fully and utterly, not simply on tactical grounds. "I have grown up in a liberal age which has disappeared," he said. "But although the present age may be brutal, it does not follow that the Jews can or should adopt brutal methods."

Dr. Weizmann recognized that great provocation existed, but he said:

"It is difficult in such circumstances to retain a belief in the victory of peaceful ideals, in the supremacy of moral values. *And yet I affirm, without any hesitation, that we have to retain it.* Our Movement is a modern expression of the liberal ideal. Divorced from that ideal, it loses all purpose, all hope. When we invoke the Jewish tradition as support for our national claim, we are not free to shake off the restraints of that tradition and embark on courses which Jewish morality cannot condone."

Palestine

AMONG professional speculators about international affairs, the feeling was growing that Britain was preparing to accept some form of partition of Palestine. The intricate interrelationships of Britain's worldwide interests were such that one of the principal pieces of evidence for this conjecture emerged out of the continuing crisis in India rather than anything going on in Palestine.

COMMENTARY

In early December, Prime Minister Clement Attlee tried to find a way of bridging the gap between the Moslem League and the rest of India by calling to London Mohammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the Moslem League; Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress party leader and Vice-President of the Interim Government; Sir Baldev Singh, spokesman for the Sikh community; and Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy.

The Indian leaders brought no new proposals with them, having come simply because they were asked. And the British, it turned out, had no new ideas. After a few days of inconclusive conversation, the British government issued a statement which served notice that His Majesty's government could not "contemplate" forcing "upon any unwilling part of the country" a constitution for India framed by a Constituent Assembly "in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented." The reference here was clearly to the Moslem League, whose delegates had refused to attend the meetings of the Constituent Assembly which began on December 9.

Why the British Labor government should have thus aided Mohammed Ali Jinnah's standing, after having deliberately turned against him on three previous occasions and helped to reduce his influence in India, became a subject of puzzled speculation. Most observers felt that the maneuver had nothing to do with India at all. They suggested that Britain had decided to accept partition of Palestine and, in order to appease opposition from the Arabs, was throwing a sop to their fellow Moslems in India. The theory was plausible though there had never been much evidence of brotherly love between Arab Moslems and Jinnah. On his way back to India, Jinnah took tea with the dignitaries of the Arab League and with the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem. No public affirmation of Arab support for Pakistan emerged out of Jinnah's conversations in Cairo. Whatever interest there might have been in Pakistan in the Arab League was probably not shared in Lebanon and Syria where there was a large Christian population.

Bevin and Byrnes

Palestine was the subject of private conversations and conferences between Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and Foreign

Secretary Ernest Bevin in early December during the New York meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers. Out of these conferences emerged an exchange of letters and a statement. On December 2 Byrnes wrote to Bevin:

"The Jewish leaders, with whom I have recently conferred, regardless of views formerly held by them, now regard the partition proposal as the most practical long-term solution."

The Jewish leaders whom Byrnes had seen included Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and Dr. Nahum Goldmann. Mr. Byrnes' revelation that these leaders—presumably without exception—regarded partition as the most practical solution was interesting in view of the bitter dispute among Zionist leaders on the subject. It was particularly interesting in the light of Dr. Silver's vigorous public denunciations of Zionists who were ready to accept partition.

Before agreeing to attend the conferences in London which had been postponed to January, Mr. Byrnes continued, he felt that these Jewish leaders "would want to be assured specifically that the partition proposal favored by them would be fully considered by His Majesty's Government."

Mr. Bevin replied on the same day that any proposal offered by the Jews would be given "equal status on the conference agenda." His government, he added, "did not regard themselves as committed to their own proposals. Nor, of course, are they prepared to commit themselves in advance to any other proposal."

On December 6 Secretary Byrnes made public this exchange of letters together with a brief statement of his own in which he twice urged Jews and Arabs to attend the conference and, if they did, promised to have an American observer there. On the strength of this statement, advocates of attendance warned the World Zionist Congress that refusal to attend would mean loss of American good will. Dr. Chaim Weizmann said to the Congress: "It is a mistake to think that America will go to extremes to put pressure on Britain in our behalf. In their recent conversations it wasn't Byrnes who convinced Bevin, but vice versa."

SIDNEY HERTZBERG

FROM THE AMERICAN SCENE

THE AMERICANISM OF ADOLPH S. OCHS

A Guest in the House

LOUIS BERG

THE publication of Gerald Johnson's full-length, heavily documented biography of the late Adolph S. Ochs, "the man who built the *New York Times*," affords us an excellent opportunity to study one of the key figures of our era and the social surroundings that produced him. To be sure, one must read between the lines, but happily the writing there is quite legible.

It was patently the biographer's intention to add Ochs' portrait to a flattering gallery of "empire builders" that contains such magnificos, giants of finance and industry, as J. P. Morgan, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and James J. Hill. But his subject looks forth so anxiously from the gilded frame that Johnson has supplied as to make it clear he is not at ease there. The very title of the picture, *An Honorable Titan* (Harper, 1946), is misleading, and would have greatly embarrassed the late publisher, a modest man, in his lifetime.

"From the neck of the Typhon (the Titan)," says my book on mythology, "dispread themselves a hundred dragon heads; his eyes shot fire, and from his black-tongued chaps

WITH quiet, ironic insight, LOUIS BERG has been writing about the lives of Jews in the American scene for more than twenty years. His short stories, sketches, and essays in this field, unhappily, do not represent a large body of work; they have been written in the interstices of the pressures that beset a working newspaperman, public-relations director, and editor. Mr. Berg grew up in Virginia, came to New York in 1926, and is motion picture editor of the national weekly, *This Week*.

proceeded the hissing of snakes, the bellowing of bulls, the roaring of lions, the barking of dogs, pipings and screams, and at times the voice and utterance of the gods themselves."

This might have applied to the elder Pulitzer or the younger Hearst, but hardly to Ochs, who was content with one head and a tongue no louder nor more versatile than was proper and respectable. Ochs avoided both the storming of Mt. Olympus and the descent into Tartarus. Amidst volcanic convulsions in the newspaper world, he sought a citadel of safety, and devoted his life to strengthening its bulwarks.

True, the citadel became a mighty fortress. But from its sally ports, none advanced to give battle. It was the *London Times*, not its New York simulacrum, that was the Thunderer.

Nevertheless, surveying the ramparts of the *New York Times*, admiring the excellence and strength of its scarps, ravelins, bastions, and abutments, Mr. Johnson is impressed. None but a giant, he reasons, could have reared this lofty structure. Accordingly, his chapter headings are monumental: "A Discourse on Titans . . . A Man Masters His Environment . . . The Man Increases in Wisdom and Stature . . . The Man Traffics with the Mighty . . . The Man Works Wonders . . . The Twilight of an Era . . . The Man is Sore Afraid." There you have it—the Myth of a Hero, complete with *Goetterdaemmerung*. But, alas, the Hero will not cooperate!

"He [Ochs] was never either swinish or gaudy, which is to his credit as a man, but

does nothing to assist the biographer in writing an interesting narrative. Indeed, by comparison with the lurid figures of his time, a quiet, hard-working, family man is downright drab."

Ochs the Public Figure is just as proper and just as unspectacular, his faults and his virtues equally undramatic. "One looks in vain for those inspirations of genius that have immortalized great artists, great philosophers, and great soldiers." Ochs' philosophy was commonplace: success is the reward of honesty, industry, and common sense. His faith was not flaming: "I am willing to believe the things that give peace, hope, and plenty."

His one great achievement, the revival of the moribund *New York Times*, was the result neither of clear vision, lofty aspiration, nor any stirring struggle. "In the beginning," observes Mr. Johnson, "no deal so colossal [as purchasing the *Times*] entered his mind." The youthful Ochs was in hot water financially as a result of unwise speculations in Chattanooga real estate. But the *Chattanooga Times*, which he owned, was making money. Ochs thought he might extricate himself if he could get possession of another such profitable newspaper. A small-town paper, which he felt equipped to handle, was what he had in mind.

The *New York Times* fell his way almost by accident. Its great publisher, George Jones, had died; the staff was struggling, in a time of financial panic, to maintain it without a head. Ochs came to New York with only \$75,000 (how he raised the money is still a mystery) and acquired control.

It was a neat and creditable deal. Mr. Ochs possessed in large measure the qualities he himself most admired: personal honesty, industry, and common sense. He was without question an able administrator. Also, he was an amiable man who made friends. They helped him.

From his predecessor on the *New York Times*, he inherited an excellent staff and a tradition of great respectability. He was in awe of both and did nothing to disturb them.

The master stroke that restored the wan-

ing prestige and dwindling finances of the *Times* was no scoop that made newspaper history, no stirring appeal to the masses of readers, no drastic change in policy. With sound merchandising instinct, he reduced the price of the paper from three cents to one, to enable it to compete in price with the penny dreadfuls of Pulitzer and Hearst. His associates opposed the change on the reasonable ground that the readers of the *Times* were respectable people and could afford the extra two cents. But Ochs knew his public. His own father had been poor but respectable. Ochs made his paper available to a growing lower-middle class—school-teachers, librarians, ambitious bank clerks—and it became their Bible. Circulation mounted from 26,000 to 75,000, and advertising with it. The *Times* was out of the red!

And here perhaps is a clue to Ochs. We must not try to measure him against the giants of newspaperdom—Bennett, Munsey, Hearst, Pulitzer, McCormick, Villard. Rather, he was a merchandiser of news, and his place belongs with other great merchants—the Strauses, Gimbel's, Bloomingdales, Kirsteins, Kaufmanns, Lazaruses, Younkers, Niemans, Marcuses—honorable purveyors of dependable goods at fair prices to the expanding American middle class. They were neither tycoons nor industrial empire-builders—to their credit, they did not claim to be.

Another of Ochs' significant contributions was the motto: "All the news that's fit to print." Some laughed at this and others wondered what it meant, but none could deny that it sounded eminently respectable—a challenge to the yellow press. For Mr. Ochs and for the *New York Times*, respectability was an ideal.

But respectability is at best a minor virtue. Poets and moralists alike quarrel with it: the poets because of its curbs upon freedom of thought and action—"When was genius ever respectable?"—and the moralists because its temptation (perhaps its ultimate logic) in our kind of society is to accept the appearance of virtue for the thing itself. Ochs' instincts were decent, but he was overwhelmed by Hearst's magnificence and charmed by the fascist Grandi's social graces; he paid, as his biographer sorrowfully notes, unseemly tributes to both. He had a naive faith in "responsible sources," close to the seat of government. These betrayed him frequently, as when he accepted Wall Street's estimate of the significance of the stock-

market crash. "It cannot be too strongly emphasized," says Mr. Johnson—and the reader can only concur—"that Adolph Ochs was not a seer."

Nor was he a leader. Ochs' *Times* was never a paper of strong convictions. Convictions lie outside the scope of mere respectability. Even the paper's vaunted independence was all too often mere caution, a trimming of sails: too often, it lagged behind the march of events; too often, it supported interests already deeply entrenched. "While the *Times* followed the advance of American liberalism, it is indubitable that, like the Apostle Peter, it followed 'afar off,'" says Mr. Johnson. And often fled at the first assault, he might have added.

What then made the *Times* a great newspaper? Again we may safely quote Mr. Johnson: "There have been other men who equaled or surpassed his [Ochs'] organizing ability, his news sense, his resourcefulness and his driving energy, but no publisher in American journalism has surpassed his sense of responsibility to his country, to his readers, and to his men."

This responsibility was almost an obsession with Ochs. Under his aegis the *Times* became more than a newspaper; it became a newspaper of record, printing in full and at considerable cost all important contemporary speeches and documents for history's later use. No paper has ever surpassed the *Times* in its extensive coverage of the news. Ochs created the *Times Index* and the *Dictionary of American Biography* as non-profit-making adjuncts of the *Times*, and purely in the public interest. He started a business, and developed a public institution.

Indeed, he built a veritable temple, a journalistic cathedral dedicated—alas!—to a Roman deity, Status Quo.

OCHS was a Jew. That was his real background. He would have denied that his Jewishness entered into his conscious calculations, but just the same it was an important factor in making the *Times* the kind of paper it became—the most un-Jewish of newspapers, to be sure. There is a dynamism of recoil, a positive of the negative, an affirmation in denial. "Religion," Ochs stoutly insisted, "is all I stand for as a Jew. I know . . . of no other definition for a Jew except religion." His biographer quotes

this statement as a triumphant proof of Ochs' undiluted Americanism. But, the world being what it is, a fellow Jew can only smile.

Whether Ochs' religion was in essence Jewish, whether it did not more closely approach the hazy theology of a church deacon or a Sunday-school superintendent, is arguable. His own biographer is wary on the subject. "His theology was of the sketchiest and he was shaky on dogma. . . . Jew or no Jew, he cheerfully accepted the dictum of Christian St. James: 'Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world.'" An excellent doctrine but hardly one to distinguish Christian from Jew, or to justify the distinction that Ochs set such store on as the one and only hallmark of his Jewishness. But that is not the point. Jewishness may be less a conviction than an experience—an unfortunate one for many people.

Ochs neither escaped this experience nor rose above it. It is much easier to establish his place in the Jewish community than it is to define his relationship to the American community as a whole. The pattern of his thinking was all too familiar: it was that of the conventional, class-conscious German Jewish group (a clannish one) to which he belonged.

These "*Yahudim*," as the East Europeans called them, half in awe, half in mockery, were in Ochs' day a singularly homogeneous group, to the subjective eye scarcely to be distinguished one from the other in manners, ideas, customs, or appearance. They did not mix socially with the East Europeans, worshiped in a decidedly different manner, in a temple instead of a synagogue, and married only among themselves; intermarriage with a Polish or Lithuanian Jew would almost have been miscegenation. Earlier immigrants, they had made their fortunes rapidly in this country, then a land of unlimited expansion and unrivaled business opportunity, and ~~they soon~~ forgot—or tried to forget—the peddler packs and the basement tailor-shops that gave them their start. They acquired well-rounded waistcoats and the dignity that goes with them. To the newly arrived East Europeans, the *Yahudim* were the gentry. To the *Yahudim*,

the ragged newcomers were an embarrassment.

In pronouncing himself "Jew by religion only," Ochs was merely voicing the theory prevalent among his kind. It was a theory convenient, among other things, for distinguishing themselves from the uncouth hordes of East Europeans, with their clamorous outlandish ideologies, their doctrines of Russian socialism, their dreams of Zion.

Jews have great prestige & good character

IT WAS the fate of Ochs' group, nevertheless, to find itself more involved in Jewish secular affairs, communal matters, and inner politics, than the theory allowed. German-Jewish philanthropy made itself responsible for the welfare—if not the conduct—of the later immigrants, "their less fortunate co-religionists," as the saving phrase went. Ancestral ties were not to be denied altogether. Or might not the wretched plight and the consequent social behavior of the newcomers reflect unfavorably upon the status of the wealthier and more established German-Jewish community, which remembered shudderingly how only yesterday it was itself regarded?

Whether for these or better reasons, it must be admitted that some elders of the German-Jewish community plunged deep into Jewish affairs. Schiff, Marshall, Straus, Felix Warburg—to name a few—are remembered today by the Jewish masses as much for their Jewish warmth as for their philanthropies. They founded excellent Jewish institutions, hospitals, charities, and welfare agencies. Their generous aid did not stop there, but extended overseas to relieve the plight of distressed Jews the world over, and even to share in the upbuilding of Palestine. (Parenthetically, no one ever questioned their Americanism.)

He was aware of the distressed condition of the Jews in many countries of Europe, and he admitted his obligation to relieve that distress as far as he could, but he flatly denied that the obligation rested upon him as a Jew.

In all fairness, too, it must be stated that a newer generation of *Yahudim* has arisen whose interest in communal Jewish matters is deep and unapologetic—it is their more courageous answer to anti-Semitism. Ochs, however, remained strictly old-line. He sought, first to last, to be consistent with the older philosophy. "He was aware of the distressed condition of the Jews in many countries of Europe, and he admitted his obligation to relieve that distress as far as he could, but he flatly denied that the obligation rested upon him as a Jew. In sending

his subscription of \$25,000 to the Jewish fund for the relief of the distressed Jews, he filed a protest against the policy of calling it a Jewish fund and of confining subscriptions to Jews. . . ."

Mr. Ochs balanced this uneasy contribution with his munificence to Hebrew Union College, seminary of creedal Reform Judaism—that being permissible—and by a propitiatory offering of \$10,000 to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, "for the purchase of a pair of magnificent candlesticks."

A Catholic Irishman, contributor to the I.R.A. and marcher on St. Patrick's Day, would not have found such a gesture necessary.

A CATHOLIC Irishman, contributor to the I.R.A. and marcher on St. Patrick's Day, would not have found such a gesture necessary. Mr. Ochs' anxiety about divided loyalties betrayed the too-nervous Jew. One might even add that it revealed the hyphenated character of his Americanism. For the unqualified American inclines, if anything, to boast of particularism. The Southerner damns the interference of other Americans in his regional affairs, though these be vital to the Constitution and our theory of government. The Texan openly avows himself a race apart. The Westerner threatens to secede from the Union. One might go on: Anglophiles want union now with Great Britain, miners defy government injunction for higher wages, and manufacturers withhold essential goods from the public for higher prices. This, some even say, is America—both its pride and its peril, certainly its tradition, and perhaps its danger.

At any rate, the American citizen has always considered it his prerogative to further the interests of his special group, whether defined by race, color, religion, or politics, with the proviso only that his highest loyalty be to his country as a whole. Nor can it be said that Ochs served no special interests. But what he permitted the capitalist, he denied the Jew. And in this, perhaps, he was remiss in his highest responsibilities as a citizen and as a man. For while all his life he asserted the glories and primacy of American citizenship, he accepted for himself and for his fellow Jews the principle of second-class citizenship, the guest-in-the-house theory of Jewish existence in the Diaspora. It was a theory that strongly paralleled the Zionist argument. It was a theory that could only serve to limit his contributions to his country.

*Answers to principles
pertaining to the
Jew in America*

Nowhere else Jews was offered them.

*and a clear voice
of disavowal*

THE AMERICANISM OF ADOLPH S. OCHS

71

For a guest-in-the-house is a bound conservative. He cannot criticize the household arrangements, scold the cook, or participate, except as peacemaker, in family quarrels—at least not if he wishes to remain welcome. Mr. Ochs' political independence was the product of caution; his lagging liberalism evidenced fear. He could be neither a staunch conservative nor yet a forthright liberal. *Ma yomru ha-goyim*—what will the Gentile say?

Mr. Ochs' Jewish humility extended even to the *New York Times*. It is to be questioned that he ever felt he owned the paper, in the sense that Pulitzer (a Jew of a different sort) owned the *World*, or Hearst the *Journal*, or in more recent years, Colonel Patterson the *News*. Rather he operated it in fee for services rendered. He was a good and faithful servant: for the five talents entrusted to his care, he returned ten. But whom actually did he serve? Was it the truth, or even the search for truth? Or was it that vague approximation called the "public interest"? As a Jew, his loyalty was to God. But did he serve his God or the high priests in the Temple? One thing is certain: he missed none of the authorized devotions.

The doctrine of stewardship is an aristocratic one, provided no intermediary is admitted between a man and his God. Ochs bore indeed a strange halfhearted resemblance to an aristocrat, puzzling until one remembers the prototype—the medieval figure of the *Hoffjude*, the court Jew of Polish and Westphalian nobles, stately in appearance and yet so deferential, admitted to the councils but barred from the feasts. That Ochs should have been overwhelmed by the invitation to San Simeon—he whose single newspaper towered over Hearst's whole empire—is then not surprising.

Ochs, as we have said, was not an isolated phenomenon. He is dead, but his successors on the *Times* carry on with the same devotion and, too often, in the same spirit. We are even given to understand that the loyalty of the present owners of the *Times*, Arthur Hays Sulzberger and Julius Ochs Adler, to their Americanism does not permit them—with or without reservations—to contribute to the United Jewish Appeal, devoted to overseas and refugee aid, and the up-

building of Palestine. To be sure, the UJA has the support of the chief editorial writer of the *Times*—but he is not a Jew.

This refusal is within the rights and privileges of Sulzberger and Adler, but, nevertheless, it defines them. They do but improve upon the early pattern of their group—a Jewish pattern. In vain they protest, for they protest too much.

A similar, or perhaps even stronger, case in point is that of the good people who lead the American Council for Judaism. "Jews by religion only," their interest in Zionism should be a weak one. But no, they oppose it with almost psychopathic fury. For them Bevin is too Zionist, and President Truman as well. To be sure, many Americans, even Jews, view with misgivings the political aims of the Zionist movement, but none with the passionate wrath of these people who, by their own definition, should simply have contented themselves with being non-Zionists, like most Americans who are not Jews.

Can it be that behind this agitation is the fear that the conduct of their fellow guests may threaten their own uncertain tenure? One is reminded irresistibly of Jimmy Durante's story of the flies who were permitted to settle on his nose without being molested. Unfortunately one of them—no fly really, but a bee—settled himself too emphatically, whereupon, as Durante tells the story, he yelled out: "There's always got to be a wise guy! Just for that the whole bunch of yez gets off!"

Was it not such an uneasiness that led to the proposal that Felix Frankfurter pass up his right to sit on the Supreme Court bench, lest a Jew make himself conspicuous and provoke the malice of the anti-Semites?

May we not find here an explanation of the cultural uncreativity of the group? These otherwise excellent and able people have defaulted on the kind of leadership in this democracy that their probity and responsibility might entitle them to. Being cautious Jews, they cannot be bold Americans. No household could ask for more proper guests, no lord for better stewards. They make excellent public servants, obeying all the rules, leaning backwards to exonerate themselves from the charge of originality or pathfinding. But, by the same token, they cannot lead. They fire no popular feelings. They head no popular movements. Unimaginative and

COMMENTARY

uninspired, they contribute very little to culture—either Jewish or American. One may safely patronize their hospitals or their department stores.

But if one seeks far-visioned or courageous political leadership—or if one wants to read a book. . . .

How else? "What will the Gentile say?" is hardly a slogan by which a people may express itself, or contribute its particular and useful genius to others. Too great a desire to please leads often to impotence—in politics as in love.

How long, one wonders, will it take these particular *Yahudim* to believe in their heart of hearts what they so stubbornly profess to believe—that America means liberty and equality for all men, even Jews?

There may be room and reason for their

scepticism. Not all Americans read the Constitution aright, and the American ideal has not been fully realized for Negroes and Jews and other minority groups. But the right, so unreservedly granted by the Founding Fathers, and fought for, must not be yielded up out of weakness and fear.

One is tempted to say to these cautious Jews: You have been told again and again, gentlemen, that this is your home, that here all are equal. You profess to believe this, and so you should, though some deny it. Relax. Take off your shoes, loosen your collars. Breathe and speak freely. This is America, not Germany, and it belongs to you as surely as it belongs to Bernard Baruch, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Ogden Reid, Nicholas Murray Butler, or Mrs. Dorothy Schiff Thackrey.

*not
radical
and
allergic*

*Now are we Jews who
not only claim the
advantage of our freedom
but who don't care to
wear around displaying
their circumcisions
& exclaiming - look
I'm a Jew, but I'm
free!*

CEDARS OF LEBANON

TALES OF THE HASIDIM

MARTIN BUBER

HASIDISM was perhaps the last positive and creative gesture made by the "civilization" of the Jews in Eastern Europe before it began to disintegrate, along with the feudal society of which it was part, under the pressure of Western influences and economic backwardness. This is not the place to go into the history, the nature, or the personalities of the Hasidic movement. Suffice it to say that the fervor and enthusiasm it awakened rescued a good part of the masses of Ashkenazim from the mood of disillusionment following upon the collapse of the Sabbatian Messianic movement in the 17th century. Hasidism restored their confidence in religion as the containing vessel of Jewish life and enabled them to feel once more that politics with its frustrations was no concern of Jews.

Parables and stories, as well as sermons and prayers, had been traditionally a Jewish means par excellence of communicating religious feeling. The legends, anecdotes, and sayings of the Hasidic *zaddikim*, or wonder-rabbis, conveyed a message whose importance in its sphere far transcended the importance assigned by Christian usage to the lives of the saints. The *zaddikim* (*zaddik*: the completely righteous one) were regarded more as religious *heroes* than as saints; and in the absence of an independent Jewish political life, they usurped in the popular imagination some of the attributes that other peoples lend to their rulers and military leaders. They inspired their followers by their presence just as much as by their precepts, and the small details of their lives were not only lessons, but also commands, transmissions, direct evocations of religious states of being.

The Baal Shem Tov ("Master of the Good Name"), whose real name was Israel ben Eliezer and who lived between 1700 and 1760, was the visionary preacher who founded Hasid-

ism. But the more intellectual if less inspired Rabbi Dov Baer, the "Great Maggid" (*maggid*: wandering preacher), established it as a going concern, and in his "House of Study" raised up a group of preachers in the third and greatest generation of the *zaddik* line. These third-generation *zaddikim* became the source of an abundance of vivid legend and anecdote that, as Martin Buber says, resemble the tales and sayings clustered around the Baal Shem's name more than they do those centered around the Great Maggid himself, and his famous contemporaries Pinhas of Koretz and Yehiel Mikhal of Zlotchov, second-generation *zaddikim* who were primarily teachers rather than wonder-workers.

The Great Maggid died in 1772, and Rabbi Jacob Yitzhak of Lublin, the last famous *zaddik* of the third generation, in 1815. It was more or less this latter date that saw the close of the golden age of Hasidism. Though the line of the *zaddikim* has continued up into our own days and has even immigrated to this country, Hasidism in general is considered to have remained in decline ever since the middle 19th century. (One or two Hasidic yeshivas have survived the Nazis in Poland; there is still one in Rumanian Transylvania, a few small ones in Russia and Palestine; and one yeshiva originally transplanted to Shanghai from Europe has just been transferred, with its two hundred students, to the United States, where there are now about twenty Hasidic yeshivas.)

THE stories, anecdotes, and sayings below were selected from *Tales of the Hasidim*, a book largely written as well as edited by Martin Buber, which Schocken Books of New York will publish in March 1947 in a translation made from the German by Olga Marx. This book includes almost all the material contained in Dr. Buber's two previous collections of

Hasidic material, as well as much, much more—even though it confines itself exclusively to the "early masters" of Hasidism. It is by Schocken's permission that we publish excerpts from it here. A second installment will follow in the February COMMENTARY.

Martin Buber himself is recognized as the greatest modern interpreter of Hasidism, and *Tales of the Hasidim* represents the latest fruits of forty years of work on his part as collector, compiler, and editor of Hasidic written and oral tradition. Editing in this case represents much more than is ordinarily understood by

the term. Dr. Buber has had to sift, reorganize, and actually retell material that he found in a chaotic and unformed state. He has had to mediate confusion into order, decide between truth, half-truth, and fable; he has had also to eliminate material whose presence was illegitimate. And then he has had to find the connecting links and recast them in his own words. It is to Martin Buber's patience, understanding, and talent that Hasidism owes a form by which it can live again, under the eyes of modern scepticism, as a precious phenomenon and essential chapter of the Jewish past.—ED.

A HASID who was traveling to Mezbizh in order to spend the Day of Atonement near the Baal Shem was forced to interrupt his journey for something or other. When the stars rose, he was still a good ways from the town and, to his great grief, had to pray alone in the open field. When he arrived in Mezbizh after the holiday, the Baal Shem received him with particular happiness and cordiality.

"Your praying," he said, "lifted up all the prayers which were lying stored in that field."

THE Baal Shem said this to a zaddik who used to preach admonishing sermons: "What do you know about admonishing? You yourself have remained unacquainted with sin all the days of your life, and you have had nothing to do with the people around you—how should you know what sinning is!"

IT HAPPENED in the days of the Baal Shem's youth that one Friday he had nothing at all in the house to prepare for the Sabbath, not a crumb, not a penny. So early in the morning, he tapped at the window of a well-to-do man, said: "There is some one who has nothing for the Sabbath," and walked on. The man, who did not know the Baal Shem, ran after him and asked: "If you need help, why do you run away?" The Baal Shem laughed and replied: "We know from the Gemara that every man is born with his calling. Now, of course, the heavier the load of one's sins, the greater effort one must make to get the appointed calling to come. But this morning I felt scarcely any weight on my shoulders. Still there was enough to

make me do a little something—and that is what I just did."

ON A certain day of the new moon, the Baal Shem joined in the morning prayer standing in his own place, for it was his custom to go to the reader's pulpit only when reading of the psalms began. Suddenly he trembled and the trembling grew greater and greater. They had seen this happen before while he prayed, but it had never been more than a slight quiver running through his body. Now he was violently shaken. When the reader had ended, and the Baal Shem was to go to the desk in his stead, they saw him stand in his place and tremble violently. One of his disciples went up to him and looked him in the face: it was burning like a torch and his eyes were wide open and staring like those of a dying man. Another disciple joined the first; they took him by the hands, and led him to the desk. He stood in front of it and trembled. Trembling he recited the psalms and after he had said the Kaddish, he remained standing and trembled for a good while, and they had to wait with reading the Scriptures until his trembling had left him.

ONE Simhath Torah evening, the Baal Shem himself danced together with his congregation. He took the scroll of the Torah in his hand and danced with it. Then he laid the scroll aside and danced without it. At this moment, one of his disciples who was intimately acquainted with his gestures said to his companions: "Now our master has laid aside the visible, dimensional teachings, and has taken the spiritual teachings unto himself."

It is told: When Rabbi Wolf Kitzes took leave of his teacher, before setting out for the Holy Land, the Baal Shem stretched out his second finger, touched him on the mouth, and said: "Heed your words, and see to it that you give the right reply!" He refused to say anything more.

The ship on which the Baal Shem's disciple had taken passage was driven from its course by a tempest, and forced to land on an unknown and apparently desert island. Presently the storm died down, but the vessel had suffered damage and could not put out to sea again immediately. Some of the passengers, Rabbi Wolf among them, went ashore to have a look at the unfamiliar foreign landscape. The others turned back after a while, but he was so deep in meditation that he went on and on and finally came to a big house built in an old-fashioned style, which looked as if no one had ever lived in it. Only then did he remember that the ship would not wait for him, but before he could decide one way or another, a man in a linen garment appeared on the threshold. His features were age-old, his hair was white, but he bore himself erect. "Do not be afraid, Rabbi Wolf," he said. "Spend the Sabbath with us. The morning after, you will be able to resume your journey." As in a dream, Rabbi Wolf followed the old man to the bath, prayed in the company of ten tall majestic old men, and ate with them. The Sabbath passed as in a dream. The next morning, the age-old man accompanied him down to the shore where his ship was lying at anchor, and blessed him in parting. But just as Rabbi Wolf was hurrying to set foot on the gangplank, his host asked him: "Tell me, Rabbi Wolf: How do the Jews fare in your country?"

"The Lord of the world does not abandon them," Rabbi Wolf replied quickly and walked on. Not until he was on the high seas did his mind clear. Then he recalled the words of his teacher and was seized with such bitter remorse that he resolved not to continue his voyage to the Holy Land, but to go home at once. He spoke to one of the crew and gathered from his reply that he was already homeward bound.

When Rabbi Wolf came to the Baal Shem, his master looked at him sorrowfully but not angrily and said: "That was the wrong answer you gave our father Abraham!

Day after day he asks God: 'How are my children?' And God replies: 'I do not abandon them.' If only you had told him of the sufferings of exile!"

THIS is how Rabbi Barukh expounded the words in the Sayings of the Fathers, "and be not wicked by facing yourself only" (that is, do not think that you cannot be redeemed):

"Every man has the vocation of making perfect something in this world. The world has need of every single human being. But there are those who always sit in their rooms behind closed doors and study, and never leave the house to talk with others. For this they are called wicked. If they talked to others, they would bring to perfection something they are destined to make perfect. That is what the words mean: 'Be not wicked by facing yourself only.' Since you face yourself only, and do not go among people, do not become wicked through solitude."

A LEARNED man from Lithuania who was proud of his knowledge was in the habit of interrupting the sermons of Rabbi Levi Yitzhak of Berditchev with all manner of hair-splitting objections. Time after time the zaddik invited him to visit him at his home for discussion of this kind, but the Lithuanian did not come but continued to appear in the House of Prayer, and interrupted the rabbi again and again. Rabbi Barukh was told of this. "If he comes to me," he said, "he will not be able to say anything at all."

These words were reported to the learned man. "What is the rabbi especially versed in?" he asked. "In the Book of Splendor," was the answer. So he selected a difficult passage in the Book of Splendor and went to Mezbizh to ask Rabbi Barukh about it. When he came into the room, he saw the Book of Splendor lying on the desk and opened to the very passage he had in mind. "What an odd coincidence," he thought to himself, and immediately began to cast about for another difficult passage that might serve to embarrass the rabbi. But the zaddik anticipated him. "Are you well versed in the Talmud?" he asked. "Certainly I am well versed in it!" the other replied and laughed. "In the Talmud," said Rabbi

Barukh, "it is said that when the child is in the mother's womb a light is kindled above his head and he learns the entire Torah, but that—when his appointed time to issue forth into the air of earth has come—an angel strikes him on the mouth and thereupon he forgets everything. How are we to interpret this? Why should he learn everything only to forget it?" The Lithuanian was silent. Rabbi Barukh continued: "I shall answer the question myself. At first glance, it is not clear why God created forgetfulness. But the meaning of it is this: If there were no forgetting, man would incessantly think of his death. He would build no house, he would launch on no enterprise. That is why God planted forgetting within him. And so one angel is ordered to teach the child in such a way that it will not forget anything, and the second angel is ordered to strike him on the mouth and make him forget. But occasionally he fails to do this, and then I replace him. And now it is your turn. Recite the whole passage to me." The man from Lithuania tried to speak, but he stammered and could not utter a single word. He left the rabbi's house and had forgotten everything. He was an ignorant man! After that he became a servant in the House of Prayer in Berditchev.

RABBI Barukh's grandson Yehiel was once playing hide-and-seek with another boy. He hid himself well and waited for his playmate to find him. When he had waited for a long time, he came out of his hiding-place, but the other was nowhere to be seen. Now Yehiel realized that he had not looked for him from the very beginning. This made him cry, and crying he ran to his grandfather and complained of his faithless friend. Then tears brimmed in Rabbi Barukh's eyes and he said: "God says the same thing: 'I hide, but no one wants to seek me.'"

WHEN Rabbi Abraham, the Angel, entered the room on his wedding-night, his face was more awe-inspiring than ever before, and his lips uttered dark sounds of lament. His appearance and his voice terrified the bride to the secret core of her being, and she fell fainting to the ground. Until morning she lay in a fever.

When he entered the room on the following night, his wife's heart filled with

heroic strength and she endured his terrible greatness.

Rabbi Abraham begot two sons. After that he lived apart as before.

RABBI Abraham said: "I have learned a new form of service from the wars of Frederick, king of Prussia. It is not necessary to approach the enemy in order to attack him. In fleeing from him, it is possible to circumvent him as he advances, and fall on him from the rear until he is forced to surrender. What is needed is not to strike straight at Evil but to withdraw to the sources of divine power, and from there to circle around Evil, bend it, and transform it into its opposite.

ONCE Rabbi Abraham visited his father-in-law in Kremnitz. The most distinguished members of the congregation assembled to welcome the holy man. But he turned his back on them and looked out of the window at the mountain at whose foot the city lay. Among those waiting for him was a man very much aware of his own learning and intent on his own importance. He said impatiently: "Why do you keep staring at the mountain? Have you never seen anything like it before?"

The rabbi answered: "I look and am amazed to see how such a lump of earth made much of itself until it grew into a tall mountain."

RABBI Pinhas often cited the words: "A man's soul will teach him," and emphasized them by adding: "There is no man who is not incessantly being taught by his soul."

One of his disciples asked: "If this is so, why don't men obey their souls?"

"The soul teaches incessantly," Rabbi Pinhas explained, "but it never repeats."

ONCE, when Rabbi Pinhas was at the desk reciting the Evening Prayer, and came to the words: "Who guardest thy people Israel," he screamed aloud from the very bottom of his soul. The countess who owned the region happened to be passing the House of Prayer. She leaned over one of the low windowsills and listened. Then she said to those around her: "How true that scream was! How without any admixture of false-

hood!" When they repeated her remark to Rabbi Pinhas, he said with a smile: "Even the peoples of the world know the truth when they hear it."

THE wife of Rabbi Pinhas once scolded her servant. This annoyed the rabbi and he said to her: "One should never hurt a Jew. A Jew is precious, very precious!" He pointed to a water carrier by the name of Hirsh, who was just taking a pail into the house. The man was very simple-minded, and still unmarried although he was about forty years old. The rabbi said to his wife: "I tremble before Hershele—because he is so precious!"

ONCE, when Rabbi Pinhas entered the House of Study, he saw that his disciples, who had been talking busily, stopped and started at his coming. He asked them: "What were you talking about?"

"Rabbi," they said. "We were saying how afraid we are that the Evil Urge will pursue us."

"Don't worry," he replied. "You have not got high enough for it to pursue you. For the time being, you are still pursuing it."

ONCE some women came to Rabbi Pinhas from a nearby town and bothered him with their trivial concerns. When he saw them at his door again on the following morning before prayer, he fled to his son's house and cried: "If only the Messiah came, so that we might get rid of the zaddikim, 'the good Jews'." After a while, he added: "You think that it is the wicked who delay the coming of the Messiah. Not so—it is 'the good Jews' who are delaying it. A nail somewhere in the wall—what has that to do with me! But a pin sticking in my shirt—that's what pricks!"

RABBI Pinhas said: "All joys hail from Paradise, and jests too, provided they are uttered in true joy."

RABBI Mikhal once said to his sons: "My life was blessed in that I never needed anything until I had it."

AHASID complained to Rabbi Wolf that certain persons were turning night into day, playing cards. "That is good," said the

zaddik. "Like all people, they want to serve God and don't know how. But now they are learning to stay awake and persist in doing something. When they have become perfect in this, all they need do is turn to God—and what excellent servants they will make for him then!"

WHILE Rabbi Wolf was on a journey, a poor young hasid came up to him and asked for financial assistance. The zaddik looked in his purse, put back a large coin he had happened to find, fetched out a smaller one and gave it to the needy young man. "A young man," he said, "should not have to be ashamed, but neither should he expect heaven knows what." The hasid went from him with bowed head.

Rabbi Wolf called him back and asked: "Young man, what was that you were just thinking?"

"I have learned a new way to serve God," the other replied. "One should not be ashamed, and one should not expect heaven knows what."

"That is what I meant," said the zaddik and accorded him help.

IT is told: Rabbi Leib, son of Sarah, wandered about all the days of his life and never stayed in one place for any length of time. He often stopped in woods and caves, but he also came to cities and there secretly associated with certain intimate friends of his. He also never failed to appear wherever a large market was held. On such occasions, he rented a booth and stood in it from the beginning to the end of the market. Over and over his disciples begged him to tell them the purpose of this strange habit of his. Finally he yielded to their importunities. A man with a heavy load on his shoulders was just passing by. Rabbi Leib called him and whispered in his ear for a while. Then he told his disciples to follow the man and observe him. They saw him go up to one of the merchants, set down his load, and heard him say that he did not want to be a servant any longer. The merchant shouted angrily at him and refused to pay him his due wages, but the man went silently away. Then the disciples who were following him saw that he was wearing a shroud. They ran up to him and adjured him to reveal his secret to them. "Hasty and transitory was my sojourn

in the world of chaos," he said to them. "I did not know that I have been dead long since. Now the rabbi told me and has given me redemption."

ONCE Rabbi Hayyim of Krosno, a disciple of the Baal Shem's, was watching a rope dancer together with his disciples. He was so absorbed in the spectacle that they asked him what it was that riveted his gaze to this foolish performance. "This man," he said, "is risking his life, and I cannot say why. But I am quite sure that while he is walking the rope, he is not thinking of the fact that he is earning a hundred gulden by what he is doing, for if he did, he would fall."

WHEN Rabbi Shmelke was called to be the *rav* of Nikolsburg, he prepared an impressive sermon which he intended to preach to the Talmud scholars of Moravia. On the way, he stopped over in the city of Cracow and when the people there begged him to preach to them, he asked his disciple Moshe Leib, the later Rabbi of Sasov, who had accompanied him: "Well, Moshe Leib, what shall I preach?"

"The rabbi has prepared a splendid sermon for Nikolsburg. Why should he not preach that here as well?" answered Moshe Leib.

Rabbi Shmelke took his advice. Now a number of men had come from Nikolsburg to Cracow in order to welcome him, and these heard the sermon. So when the zaddik arrived in Nikolsburg, he asked his disciple: "Well, Moshe Leib, now what shall I preach on the Sabbath? I cannot dish up the same sermon over again to the men who heard me speak in Cracow."

"We must take some time," said Moshe Leib, "and discuss a problem of the law in preparation for a sermon."

But up to Friday they did not have a moment's time to open a book. Finally Rabbi Shmelke asked: "Well, Moshe, what shall we preach?"

"On Friday evening, they must surely give us a little free time," said Moshe Leib.

They held in readiness a very large candle which was to burn right through the night, and, when the crowd had gone home, they sat down before the book. Then a hen flew

in at the window and the whir of her wings put out the light. Said Rabbi Shmelke: "Well, Moshe Leib, now what are we to preach?"

"Surely," Moshe Leib replied, "there will be no preaching until the afternoon; and so in the morning, after prayer, let us go into our room, lock the door, let no one in, and talk over a subject." In the morning they went to prayer. Before the chapter for the week was read, the desk was moved in front of the Ark and the head of the congregation came and asked Rabbi Shmelke to give his sermon.

The House of Prayer was filled with the Talmud scholars of Moravia. Rabbi Shmelke had them bring him a volume of the Gemara, opened it at random, posed a problem from the page before him, and asked the scholars to discuss it. Then he too, so he said, would say his say. When they had all spoken, he put the prayer shawl over his head and remained like this for about a quarter of an hour. Then he organized the questions they had raised, one hundred and thirty in number, and gave the replies, seventy-two in number, and there was nothing that was not answered, and solved, and quelled.

A POOR man came to Rabbi Shmelke's door. There was no money in the house, so the rabbi gave him a ring. A moment later, his wife heard of it and heaped him with reproaches for throwing to an unknown beggar so valuable a piece of jewelry, with so large and precious a stone. Rabbi Shmelke had the poor man called back and said to him: "I have just learned that the ring I gave you is of great value. Be careful not to sell it for too little money."

RABBI Shmelke said: "The poor man gives the rich man more than the rich gives the poor. More than the poor man needs the rich man, the rich is in need of the poor."

AZADDIK told this: The delights of all the worlds wanted to reveal themselves to Rabbi Aaron, but he only shook his head. "Even if they are delights," he said at last, "before I enjoy them, I want to sweat for them."

THE STUDY OF MAN

ADJUSTING MEN TO MACHINES

Social Scientists Explore the World of the Factory

DANIEL BELL

THE resources of the social sciences are called upon more and more frequently to deal with everyday problems of our society, particularly those arising from conflict and friction between groups. In "Government by Manipulation," printed in this department in July, Nathan Glazer reported on recent efforts to use social scientists to adjust human beings to the necessities of government, as in the Japanese relocation-centers. Of like significance are the large-scale endeavors during recent years to apply the techniques of sociology to that basic institution of our industrial society, the factory.

These recent studies represent a significant departure from the earlier approach of the industrial engineer, who evaluated the worker's output on the basis of some purely mechanical

measure, and sought to find ways to greater efficiency through time and motion studies measuring the worker's physical capacities. Like the earlier studies, however, the new investigations are not focused on "industrial relations" or "labor problems" as these terms are commonly understood, i.e., on large economic issues or on the top-level relations between the trade union and the employers. Primarily, they are studies of actual behavior and actual social relations *within the factory*: the attitude of the worker toward his supervisor and his employers; the relation between the formal structure of authority as defined by the employer's organizational chart and the structure that actually develops; motives for restriction of output; worker resistance to technological change; and so on.

THIS department aims to provide for the thoughtful general reader a regular monthly review of significant current thought and research in the sciences dealing with man and society. This month's column on factory research, a topic sure to come more and more into public prominence, is written by DANIEL BELL, instructor in the social sciences at the College of the University of Chicago, who has studied both the specific problems of labor and labor organizations, and labor's role as a dynamic element in industrial society. He was formerly managing editor of the *New Leader* and of *Common Sense*, and this past June, was visiting lecturer at the Friends Institute in Seattle. He has contributed to the *Jewish Frontier*, *Politics*, *Partisan Review*, the *Annals*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, and other periodicals. He was born in New York City in 1919, and did graduate work at Columbia University. He is now writing a history of American Socialism.

Industry and the Professors

BEHIND these studies is the conviction of many industrial leaders that the way to higher productivity no longer lies so much in improved machinery and techniques as in better labor response. The Ford Motor Company announced a short while ago that it was setting aside \$500,000 for research into "human relations." The company, Henry Ford II said, felt that it could go no further in the direction of technological rationalization of machines, and that the next step in engineering would have to be the raising of the level of "human achievement." Such companies as Libby, McNeil and Libby, the Container Corporation of America, and Sears Roebuck, have for some time been conducting researches in their plants, following the lead of Western Electric, the manufacturing division of AT&T, which spent more than a

million dollars over a ten-year period to study workers' behavior on the job.

Groups at four major universities are participating in this research. The largest and oldest is the one at the Harvard Business School, directed by Elton Mayo, who has provided the impetus to most of the work done in the field. A second group, in existence since 1943, operates at the University of Chicago under the direction of W. Lloyd Warner. Warner and his two major colleagues, Burleigh Gardner and William F. Whyte, were trained at Harvard and utilize the Mayo approach. At Yale, E. Wight Bakke directs a labor-management center less than two years old. This group has concentrated mainly on the conventional problems of industrial relations, but Mr. Bakke is also studying ways to expedite conference-table negotiations, while his associate, Charles Rumford Walker, is directing research on the effects of technology on industrial relations; a study of the internal operations of the International Business Machines Corporation is also planned. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, psychologists Kurt Lewin and Douglas MacGregor are beginning a series of researches that will include controlled experiments in factories.

In addition to these four organized centers, each employing large staffs of researchers and graduate students, sociologists throughout the country are directing individual projects: Eliot D. Chapple at Harvard, Conrad Arensberg at Barnard, Wilbert Moore at Princeton, and some younger men in small colleges. The sociologists in this field have organized a section on industrial sociology within the American Sociological Society, and Messrs. Chapple, Arensberg, and others have founded a magazine, *Applied Anthropology*, devoted to "practical problems in human engineering."

The reasons for this extensive cooperation between business and the universities—itself an interesting phenomenon to the self-conscious sociologist—are several. First, the universities have trained research-personnel available. Second, these men form, presumably, a detached and impartial group, and corporations are not averse to utilizing their prestige for its public relations value, and as a means of getting management programs accepted by the unions.

For their part, the professors in general have an ideology geared to the need. Being scientists, they are concerned with "what is" and are not

inclined to involve themselves in questions of moral values or larger social issues. They operate as technicians, approaching the problem as it is given to them and keeping within the framework set by those who hire them. Many conceive of themselves as "human engineers," counterparts to the industrial engineers: where the industrial engineer plans a flow of work in order to assure greater mechanical efficiency, the "human engineer" tries to "adjust" the worker to his job so that the human equation will match the industrial equation. To effect this, the sociologists seek "laws" of human behavior analogous to the laws of the physical world, and by and large they give little thought to the fact that they are *not* operating in the physical world. And almost none among them seem to be interested in the possibility that one of the functions of social science may be to explore alternative (and better, i.e., more human) modes of human combinations, not merely to make more effective those that already exist.

The Mule-Spinning Room

In a sense, all this activity in factory research is a tribute to one man—Elton Mayo. Born in Australia in 1880, Dr. Mayo came to the United States in 1923 as a research associate at the University of Pennsylvania. He conducted his first investigations in a textile mill in Philadelphia (reported in *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Macmillan, 1933, republished by Harvard University Press, 1946). His problem was to determine why labor turnover among the workers in a particular operation—"mule-spinning"—was fifty times higher than in other parts of the plant. Efficiency engineers had been consulted, and several wage-incentive plans introduced, yet the turnover rate continued high. In other parts of the plant, conditions seemed fine. Morale was high; the factory head was a former Army colonel under whom many of the workers had served in the war, and ties of personal loyalty were strong.

Mayo noticed that the machines in the mule-spinning room were so arranged that the men who tended them rarely came into contact with each other. The men were subject to spells of obsessive reverie and daydreaming and displayed melancholic traits. A nurse was called in as one of the investigating team, and the workers were encouraged to bring their prob-

lems to her. To the efficiency engineers, the men's complaints had seemed so improbable that their stories had been dismissed. Now finding a sympathetic ear, the workers began to pour out their troubles. In addition, Mayo prescribed two rest periods during the day. The results were startling. Turnover diminished, and for the first time, the men in the mule-spinning room were able to meet the production standards set by the time-study men.

At that time, in 1925, Mayo did not yet fully understand what had produced this change. The role of the nurse and the effect of the rest period were only the first clues, and these were followed up and utilized in the famous Hawthorne experiments.

Pioneering at Hawthorne

THE Hawthorne studies have had a sharp impact on sociological and psychological investigation. Subsequent work has taken its point of departure from the Hawthorne findings or adapted their conceptual scheme, and most writings in the field fully accept their conclusions. (One zealot has exclaimed that the Hawthorne experiments are to social science what Galileo's demonstration of falling weights was to the physical sciences.)

The Hawthorne Works in Chicago is one of the manufacturing plants of the Western Electric Company. Western Electric engineers had tried to determine the effect of different lighting conditions on output. They had naturally expected that better illumination would bring better work, and poorer illumination poorer work, but the experiment permitted no such conclusion. Every canon of scientific procedure was followed; there was an experimental group and a matched control group; changes were introduced in one group and not in the other. With improved lighting in the experimental room, production went up—but output rose in the control room, too, where lighting had not been improved. When lighting in the experimental room was reduced again, production continued to rise. And in the control room, where lighting was still held constant, production still continued to rise!

Mayo and the Harvard Department of Industrial Research were then brought in and initiated a series of experiments that was to last more than nine years. (T. North Whitehead, *The Industrial Worker*, Harvard, 1938; F. L. Roethlisberger and W. L. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Harvard, 1938. The latter volume describes the entire experiment, and draws its theoretical implications.)

The basic experiments, which took five years, were conducted in the "relay test-room," where six girls worked at assembling pieces of telephone equipment. The tests were designed to verify the fundamental hypothesis that output varies with the fatigue of workers, as measured by certain physiological tests. The following factors were isolated to see if they affected efficiency (as measured by output): (1) illumination; (2) amount of rest the previous night; amount of rest the two previous nights; (3) menstrual cycles; (4) humidity and temperature; (5) changes in the type of work; (6) holidays; (7) rest periods within a day's work, of different durations, and in different arrangements; (8) fatigue accumulation during the day, measured by blood pressure tests and vascular skin tests; (9) intelligence; (10) dexterity; (11) wage incentives of different kinds.

No positive correlation was found between any of these factors and the increase in output that was a steady feature of the entire period.

Following the indications of Mayo's earlier study, it was finally assumed that the social or personal relations of the group as a whole were the unmeasured and decisive factor. When the girls were allowed to talk, and when, in addition, they felt that supervisors took an interest in them, production increased. (In the illumination experiments, it had been the fact that workers knew they were being singled out for special attention—even though only as subjects in an experiment—that had led to the rise in output.)

Once the social factor was assumed to be decisive, new experiments were devised. For example, seating was rearranged to pair friendly operators, and later, to pair unfriendly ones. With these changes, production results varied.

Following another lead derived from Mayo's Philadelphia experiment, a counseling service was introduced throughout the Hawthorne plant, with trained interviewers assigned to listen to workers' complaints. This was a forerunner of the "non-directive" counseling method elaborated by Carl Rogers, now at the University of Chicago, sometimes irreverently called the "umhum" method (Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, Houghton Mifflin, 1942). No leading questions are asked, no direct advice is given; the person is encouraged

to unburden himself of his complaints and to reach a solution through verbal catharsis. The counselor merely eases the "conversation" along with a steady accompaniment of sympathetic grunts.

As a check upon the conclusions of the relay test-room experiments, the investigators began a study of the bank-wiring room, where output had long remained on a steady low level. In the relay test-room, the existence of an informal group with high solidarity had been judged to be the cause of increasing output. Yet in the bank-wiring room, there was an even stronger informal group or clique, but here it apparently served to restrict output. Despite wage incentive plans, the fixed level continued.

The investigators explained the situation as follows: In the bank-wiring room, social relations among the workers were imposed by the rhythms and nature of the flow of work, and output depended on cooperation, since the operations interlocked. Wage rates were calculated on the basis of a complicated combination of group and individual piece-work. The group had set up a "bogey," a mark that was not to be exceeded by any group member lest the record of any single man be endangered, and technological innovations were resisted as threatening the security of the group. This was in contrast to the relay test-room, where each operator did her own work in comparative independence, with the pace of work set by the individual.

But in determining the factor accounting for the relative difference in output between the two departments, while all the environmental factors in the situation were taken into account, the investigators seem to have overlooked certain broader social considerations. Might not the slowdown in the bank-wiring room have resulted from a settled "class" attitude on the part of the men? If the men felt that they were permanently "stuck" in these jobs, then their first thought would be to protect themselves. Women do not regard factory work as a lifetime job; their orientation is towards home and marriage, and it is therefore more likely that "happy" job surroundings should induce them to work harder in order to earn more.

The Need for Solidarity

THOUGH there have not been any studies comparable in scope, painstaking detail, and sheer word output to the Hawthorne studies, the

Mayo group has sponsored a dozen other studies along the same lines. (They are listed in Elton Mayo's latest book, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Harvard, 1946.)

A good example of the application of the Hawthorne concepts to a practical problem faced during wartime is Elton Mayo and George F. F. Lombard's *Teamwork and Labor Turnover in the Aircraft Industry of Southern California* (Harvard, 1944).

Despite good working conditions, high wage rates, and the stimulus of patriotism, there was a crippling rate of absenteeism and turnover in the aircraft plant studied. The men in those departments where absenteeism was lowest were found to have backgrounds and skills similar to those in the departments where it was highest. In the low-turnover departments, however, the men had organized themselves spontaneously into well-knit teams held together by "natural team-leaders." While the foreman dealt with the technical details of laying out the work, the team leader helped individual workers solve work "bugs" and acted as a buffer between the men and the "outside world" of inspectors, time-study men, and department foremen. He took an interest in new workers, smoothing their relations with the older men and initiating them into the work and its problems. And it was where such teams had arisen that high turnover and absenteeism had been overcome.

Mayo's conclusion was that the executive had to think of his work force in terms of *teams* and not as isolated individuals. He writes: "The belief that the behavior of an individual within the factory can be predicted before employment on the basis of a laborious and minute examination of tests of his technical and other capacities is mainly, if not wholly, mistaken."*

* The importance of teams in aerial combat was recognized quite forcefully in German psychiatric treatment—in contrast to somewhat inept American methods. In American squadrons, when the flight surgeon or field psychiatrist thought a man was likely to crack, he was pulled out of his group and sent to a back area for a rest. The man taken out of the group often began to feel himself shamed in the eyes of the others, while the others themselves felt fearful that each might crack next. In German psychiatric treatment, when a man was suspected of slipping, the entire team was taken out, sent back for a rest, allowed to play until they became bored with inaction, and then sent back as a team. (See *War Neuroses in North Africa*, R. R. Grinker and J. P. Spiegel, New York, Army Air Forces, 1943.)

As a result of the Hawthorne studies and later studies along the same lines, the Mayo group discarded the older hypotheses of industrial psychology that output varies largely with fatigue and was able to elaborate certain "theoretical frames" to guide future research:

1. A factory has to be conceived as a social system, with the relations of its parts defined not only by the formal logical structure, but also by the informal structure and by the ceremonials, rituals, and non-logical sentiments that motivate behavior. The worker cannot be abstracted from his social situation.

2. The function of the executive is not only to make policy, but to ensure its acceptance "down the line" by subordinates. Since human beings usually resist change, acceptance of change involves translating orders into terms that circumvent this resistance. Programs have to be "sold" to the personnel as a product is "sold" to the public.

3. A factory system, like any stable social system, must be conceived as tending towards an equilibrium in which its different parts are functionally adjusted to each other. When change upsets equilibrium, the function of the executive is to observe which parts need adjustment in order to redress the balance. (This concept of equilibrium comes from the Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto, who has greatly influenced the Mayo group.)

Recognition of the Person

WHEREAS the Mayo studies concentrated largely on the nature of the informal group in factories and the emergence of "natural leaders," the studies directed by Lloyd Warner for the Committee on Human Relations at the University of Chicago have focused on problems of status within the factory, and the relationship of work life to community life. This is the organizing theme of a volume of general papers that the Committee will publish shortly. (William F. Whyte, editor, *Industry and Society*, McGraw-Hill*).

Lloyd Warner, an anthropologist who received his graduate training at Harvard and later taught there, is the author of the *Yankee City Series*, an attempt to examine with anthropological detachment the social life, class system, ethnic groupings, and factory organiza-

tion, of a New England town. (See "The Jews of Yankee City," by Harold Orlansky, in the January 1946 COMMENTARY.) Three of his projected six volumes have already appeared; the fourth, on the factory system, will appear shortly.

In his paper on factory life in *Industry and Society*, summarizing the forthcoming Yankee City volume, Dr. Warner seeks to explain why the factory workers of Yankee City, who had previously resisted unionization, at last went out on strike. (Incidentally to his purpose, Dr. Warner seeks to prove that economic determinism cannot explain the actions of the workers. However, like other American sociologists, he is really flogging a dead horse. His notion of economic determinism is that of a Benthamite world in which each person acts on the basis of materialist self-interest; the Marxist horse is one of a different color.)

Ownership and management of Yankee City's factory had long been rooted in the town. Workers had some control over the practice of their craft, and some pride in it, and relations between management and workers were direct. Then the factory was sold to a New York financial group. The technological rationalization introduced by the new owners made the skills of the workers useless, so that they "forgot their pride in their separate jobs," while the introduction of an absentee management destroyed the personal loyalties that had united the factory. Loss of solidarity and loss of status are seen as the keys to the strikes that "inevitably followed."

"Pride" and Status

IN ANOTHER Chicago study, "The Man in the Middle: Position and Problems of the Foreman" (B. Gardner and W. F. Whyte, *Applied Anthropology*, Spring 1945), we see how the concept of status has helped supply answers to practical industrial problems. Here the problem was growing dissatisfaction among foremen, expressed through strikes and unionization. What was behind this defection of a group that had always been considered a trusty arm of management?

In large-scale corporations, policy decisions, made by a small group at the top, are enforced and applied by a host of persons organized hierarchically, each with his own area of responsibility. The key man is the foreman. He

has to transmit the orders of management to

* I am indebted to Professor William F. Whyte for the galley proofs of this volume and permission to cite from it before publication.

COMMENTARY

the workers, find mechanisms for making adjustments, and transmit upwards the complaints of the men in the ranks. And whereas his responsibilities for production have increased, his authority has become less. With the multiplication of supervision over him, his lessened chances for advancement because of increased educational requirements, the transfer of control over hiring and firing to separate personnel offices, and the rapid pace of technological change, all threatening to make his own abilities obsolete, the foreman not only finds it more difficult to adjust his men to their job, but has developed anxieties and insecurities of his own. Hence the new phenomenon of the unionization of foremen.

The authors propose two steps to restore the role and prestige of the foreman. First, they suggest that his function should now be to build a "work team." Here he has to exercise certain social skills: he must not be arbitrary or inconsiderate; he must take the initiative but not be overbearing; he must encourage social activity, since workers want a chance to respond and gain recognition; and he must become something of a counselor and friend. In a sense, the authors want the foreman to assume the Freudian role of "surrogate"—an interesting sidelight on the role of father-dependence in our time.

Secondly, they suggest that more effective lines of communication be opened up between the top and the bottom, giving workers means of transmitting grievances to competent authorities, and enabling foremen to transmit directives more intelligently. Just as the foreman must gain the confidence of his workers, higher management must gain his confidence. In both cases, effective communication does not mean giving orders, but mutual discussion. Students of the factory's social structure have discovered that people will work more willingly and effectively when they have themselves taken on a task—or at least had a chance to talk about it—than when they have simply been ordered to carry it out. (Anyone acquainted with the theory of progressive education will find little new in this notion. But it takes the academies a long time to catch up with the facts of life, and the factories even longer.)

Status Conflict or Class Conflict?

The studies described so far have for the most part rested on the assumption that better face-

to-face relations between management and union, and management and worker, would lead to peace. Few attempts have been made to study how differences in social role in the factory give rise to differences of ideology, and create conflicts between worker and management that are more basic than any question of defective or unintelligent management. One of the first such attempts, and because of this an important achievement in the field despite a certain looseness of formulation, is a study made by three researchers at Chicago, "Restriction of Output and Social Cleavage in Industry" (Orvis Collins, Melville Dalton, and Donald Roy, *Applied Anthropology*, Summer 1946.)

"Restriction of output" is an ambiguous term that makes it appear that certain output levels are "natural," and that labor is committing a crime by restrictive practices. Actually, the level of output fixed as normal is determined by industry and based on a mechanical and physiological concept of efficiency. From the workers' point of view, the "norm" may not constitute an "honest day's work" at all.

In the past, restrictive practices were considered a "make-work" means of safeguarding the job by spreading the work around. Yet during the war years, with enough work for all, and premiums for extra work, restrictive practices still continued. Are these merely ossified folkways?

The authors approach the problem in terms of a social cleavage between two distinct groups, with managers and engineers on one side, and workers on the other. And behind the two groups lie two distinct frames of values. The managerial group criticizes restriction in accents of middle-class morality: the function of man is to work hard. Spontaneity is a danger, for it destroys the careful calculations of efficiency: the worker must follow the rhythm of the machine.

The workers have a different morality, and they band together to protect themselves. The authors do not pursue the motivation for this, but it is fairly obvious: having no control over the planning and tempo of his own work, the worker can no longer think of himself as a man with a "calling," but is forced to recognize himself as a man who works for wages; it then becomes entirely reasonable and "moral" that his primary loyalty should be to his group, and that he should cooperate in making the best of the group's unequal bargain with manage-

ment. Significantly, the authors of this study point out that the workers' attitude toward restriction of output is rooted in the feeling that chances for rising upward are now more limited, and that they are permanently "stuck" as workers.

The authors list the main conclusions of their study as follows:

1. Restriction of output reflects a conflict of status between office and shop. The engineers who come into the shop to fix norms are outsiders, "symbolic of a social group which in the factory has as its chief function the manipulation of the worker."

2. Restriction of output is an expression of resentment toward management. Factory management seeks to allocate workers' time completely in terms of its own plans, in line with its own concept of efficiency.

3. Restriction of output is an expression of cleavage in social ethics. The engineers tend to believe that the individual must look after his own economic interests and pursue his career at the expense of his fellows. The workers, sensing that social mobility upward has halted, and that they belong more or less permanently to their work groups, identify their interests with those of the group.

Does this mean that cooperation between workers and management to increase production is doomed? A study of the "X" Manufacturing Company by Whyte and Gardner may provide a partial answer. (This study is still in manuscript at the University of Chicago.)

"X" Company had been bitterly anti-union until 1941, when it reversed its policy, having become convinced that the union was interested in increasing production. Management guaranteed the stability of the union, and the union in return took over the foreman's job of maintaining discipline, leaving the foreman to concentrate on the technical problem of laying out the flow of work. "I learned," remarked the company president, "that a worker is more influenced by what his fellows think about him than he is by threats that he'll get fired if he doesn't do what management says."*

An attempt to introduce piecework and in-

* With due respect to the progressive intentions of the union, one may cite a parallel situation from George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. Once the pigs had taken over the job of running the farm, the surrounding human farmers became quite envious of their success. The animals discipline one another better than we can, remarks a farmer.

dividual incentives failed and was abandoned because of the competition and acrimony it produced. Solidarity among the workers, and the union's role in maintaining high morale, were more effective in increasing output.

In the Hawthorne bank-wiring room and in the social-cleavage study just presented, group solidarity led to restriction of output. Here, the result of solidarity was just the reverse. Various factors may account for this. At the "X" Company, a strong union provided protection and security, while in the bank-wiring room there was no union, and in the social-cleavage situation the union maintained no close relations with the company. Perhaps most important is the fact that the "X" Company is relatively small, permitting the worker to identify himself with it, especially since the union protected the worker's status and was itself so close to management. Finally, there was no backlog of huge profits to arouse resentment.*



Smoothing Technological Change

ANOTHER difficulty for the employer—and the sociologist—is the problem of introducing technological changes. Research in this field has been motivated and guided almost entirely by the desire to smooth the way for the change. Rarely is the necessity for the change itself questioned by the sociologist, or its effects judged; it is sufficient that its need has already been fixed by company policy. Research is principally concerned therefore with devising techniques to gain acceptance for the contemplated changes. (R. C. Nyman and E. D. Smith, *Union-Management Cooperation in the Stretch-Out*, Yale, 1938—an analysis of the famous Pequot Mills strike; Elliott Dunlap Smith, *Technology and Labor*, Yale, 1939; Elliott Dunlap Smith, "Managing Technological Change," *Personnel*, May 1946.)

In these studies, the basic assumption is that

* We can see a significant contrast at the Ford Motor Company. The union paper constantly carries recriminatory statements by workers regarding the company's attempt to "speed up." Some samples indicate the mood: "Our greedy employer is determined to break our backs. . . . Something must be done to halt this war profits bloated corporation from demoralizing and breaking our backs. . . . We in their eyes are nothing more than a bucket of sand, a shotblast machine, or a pile of V-8 castings and our worth is only measured in terms of how much of an abnormal profit they can make on us" (September 1946 *Ford Facts*).

workers fear technological change because it upsets their old patterns of work. One can therefore win their "understanding" by discussing changes with them beforehand. Human-relations consultants prescribe round tables, conferences, "chalk-talks," and some more elaborate techniques to interest the workers. Lengthy checklists have been devised to save management from making blunders. Yet in all this, the workers' point of view is hardly ever taken seriously.

It is commonly believed that technological changes effect savings by displacing workers. Actually, the real economies are made by reducing the proportion of higher-paid skilled workers, while the total number of employees remains the same or even increases. With the introduction of the multiple-loom system in the textile industry, for example, the proportion of unskilled workers increased in most plants from 20 to 52 per cent. And at the same time, the composition of the labor force shifted, for adolescents could perform the semi-skilled jobs, which required dexterity merely, more easily than the middle-aged workers; where older workers are kept, they now find themselves in work they once thought beneath them. The simplified, routinized requirements of the new job also mean a change in the personality types needed. An observer describes the situation in textiles:

* "The weaver had to be more patient, and able to sustain concentration, since the routine work of filling his loom battersies with bobbins no longer gave him respite from the exacting work of watching his warps to prevent loom stops and tying in broken warp ends. The nervous type of workers seemed to find the new system especially trying."

Obviously, the nervous type had to be weeded out.

Problems such as these raise larger questions about the assumptions and value of human-relations research in factories.

Manager vs. Worker

PERHAPS the most important accomplishment of these studies, and others that we have not been able to discuss, is that in their course more researchers have talked to more workers and explored more factory situations than in any other investigations in the past fifty years. The mass of material which has already accumulated is tremendous. Yet one is struck by

the paucity of conclusions. The reason for this, one feels, is that no one has approached this material armed with basic hypotheses about the nature of our industrial system. Without general hypotheses, the researchers merely "psychologize," asserting that the workers "feel" this, or that management "feels" that. There is no view of the larger institutional framework of our economic system within which these relationships arise and have their meaning.

Over the past twenty years, America has been going through a profound social revolution, and a new class structure is developing whose contours are only now beginning to appear.* As a product of the increasing complexity of industry, the broadening role of research, new avenues in public service, and the general job shift away from manufacturing and toward service and commerce, there has emerged a new social stratum: the class of technical and managerial employees. Within the working class, on the other hand, technological advances have tended at once to degrade the skilled worker and to replace the raw muscle-power of the purely manual worker, creating instead a general class of semi-skilled machine tenders.

Thus a class of interchangeable factory "hands" is at last becoming a reality, and the "promise" of the factory system, as described by Marx, is only now being fulfilled. At the same time, the industrial working class in the United States is declining in relation to the total work force.

This creates a peculiar problem in social mobility: the chances of striking out for oneself or rising to the top have diminished steadily, and yet there are more status-carrying skilled jobs available than ever before. But this, precisely, is the nub of the problem: these new technical-managerial jobs require a degree of skill that is attainable only by long education; unless one gets on the social escalator early, one may never get on it.

This is the situation that the worker faces today. As a result of the depression and the increasing specialization of work, a wide gulf is being opened between skilled groups with professional status and the mass of semi-skilled machine tenders (machine tenders not only

* See my article "The Changing Class Structure of the United States," *New Leader*, June 15, 1946; also Lewis Corey, "The Middle Class." *Antioch Review*, Spring 1945.

among industrial workers, but among white-collar workers as well, since new business machines threaten the role of the office worker too.) The insecurity of the skill-less in a world that increasingly uses skill as the basis of reward is now the chief fact in the life of the masses, and the worker tends more and more to base his attitudes on the assumption that he—and his son—will remain in the working class.

From such an analysis of the institutional situation—an analysis that the factory researchers do not make—certain new questions and propositions emerge. One might look for the development of certain types of militancy among workers—a militancy not necessarily political in its tone or motivation, but one just as likely to be anti-Semitic or anti-Negro or nihilistic. Again, one might look for the beginnings of an elite psychology in the technical-managerial groups, perhaps of a kind that has played such a significant role in statist movements and societies. The concepts of "group solidarity" and "status" that have emerged as such basic factors, could, under this approach, be clarified, and their specific effects on understanding and action more exactly defined. (And, incidentally, such an approach might well prove more illuminating to those concerned with the social future of our democracy, and not merely with increasing the productivity of its industrial machine.)

Behind the refusal to adopt such an approach, one senses a disdain for what is called "armchair sociology"—or for anything that is not strictly empirical research involving a formidable statistical apparatus. Yet while researchers in this field often display a parvenu arrogance toward theory, a great deal of pretentious, senseless, and extravagant writing fills their own work, much of it inspired by the theoretical system they have taken over from Pareto. Under his influence, all action is defined in terms of equilibrium. A Newtonian model is set up in which force and counter-force, action and reaction, are modulated in pendulum fashion to create "laws of behavior." In a stable system with fixed points, this may be useful; but it is doubtful whether such a mechanical analogy is truly enlightening for the analysis of dynamic structures.

Are Workers Tools?

DESPITE their claims to scientific objectivity,

these researches rest on the unstated assumption that mechanical efficiency and high output are the sole tests of achievement—of "good" results. There are under way no studies to see what kinds of jobs can best stimulate the spontaneity and freedom of the worker, and how we can alter our industrial methods to assure such jobs. The present organization of industrial production, inhuman as it may be, is accepted as an inalterable "given." Sociologists tend to work on the behaviorist assumption that the human being is a bundle of conditioned reflexes—equally malleable, psychologically, to any situation. But it is possible that the increasing "rationalization" of living (its organization for greater efficiency), pervading all areas and narrowing all choices, is itself the root cause of the stresses and breakdown in social living that everybody decries.

One of the most striking omissions in all these researches is the failure to relate the problems of work and leisure. If one asks a worker what he thinks of his job, the reply may be: "It's all right." But if one probes below this surface, the question arises of whether work contributes anything to leisure-time occupation, or leisure-time occupation to work. And, probably, little relationship would be found. Yet real job satisfaction comes only when work and leisure shade off into each other. The sense of wholeness that one associates with the old artisan class, and with the creative person of today, arises when no sharp distinction can be drawn between work and leisure. Today, in the increasing fragmentation of life, the world of the factory is one life, the world outside another, and we find a corresponding standardization of the job in one area and standardization of leisure in the other.

Another unstated assumption underlies the persistent tendency to pose the problem of industrial harmony in terms of the difficulties of communication. It is assumed that people don't understand each other because of emotional blocks or antiquated verbal habits, or because issues of feelings and status are involved. (This has its counterpart in the theory that permanent peace can be established if nations can be made to "understand" each other.) But industrial relations—like international relations—happen to be much less a problem of setting up a smoothly functioning organization than a problem of accommodating diverse and conflicting interests. And these

interests are real. The question of how to distribute increased income resulting from higher productivity, for example, cannot be flimflammed away as a problem of verbal misinterpretation.

One sociologist has asserted that industry can function best when there is a balance of down-the-line and up-the-line pressures—that is, when the authority of management is balanced against the needs and suggestions of workers. But industry is no abstract rational system where only organizational problems prevail. Industry operates within a framework of cost factors, and every step it takes—including the employment of research sociologists—is reckoned in these terms. When a firm fires an aging worker because he cannot meet production norms, it is the cost factor that operates. Few of the researches we have discussed, concentrating as they do on greasing the skids as ordered, actually show any understanding of the chain of irresponsibility that constitutes an industry's line of command, with each man along the line responsible for carrying out a policy he has had no voice in shaping, and which he is yet required to "sell" to those below him or lose his job.

The real policy decisions are made by a few, and they are not made with concern for the men at work, but with an eye to the logic of cost, efficiency, and competition. The effect of technological change, for instance, is to downgrade workers, change the age composition of the labor force, pull more women into the factory; but changes are introduced without any consideration of their ultimate and far-reaching effects. The only factors that count are market decisions.

We must consider also the two polar concepts in this research—status motivations and solidarity motivations. They have not been defined, nor their implications fully considered. We are told that money-incentive schemes do

not spur a worker so much as prestige considerations: the invidious comparisons between the rank of one job and the next, the trappings of office that one individual is allowed and not the other, etc. Yet we are also told that group solidarity is the factor which makes possible increased output, or controls the rate of work.

The two concepts have been used carelessly. It is likely that in the white collar ranks, in the higher supervisory positions, and among management, the status motivation is predominant, while among workers, the solidarity motif is most useful in explaining actions. But more direct studies are needed to clarify these motivations and define the conditions which produce each.

The gravest charge that can be leveled against these researches is that they uncritically adopt industry's own conception of workers as means to be manipulated or adjusted to impersonal ends. The belief in man as an end in himself has been ground under by the machine, and the social science of the factory researchers is not a science of man, but a cow-sociology. Burleigh Gardner has written: "The more satisfied [the worker] is, the greater will be his self-esteem, the more content will he be, and therefore, the more efficient in what he is doing." Surely this is a fitting inscription to go under the Model T symbol of Huxley's *Brave New World*.

One striking fact about a field that has turned up so much material in these past few years is how rarely in its literature one comes upon the name of Thorstein Veblen. Perhaps this is not accidental, for that lonely protestant struck off from the hard flint of his iconoclasm the most brilliant flashes we have had into the caverns of our industrial world. Perhaps these researches are themselves an illustration of Veblen's observation about the development of occupational ruts and the "trained incapacity" they foster.

LETTERS FROM READERS

"I Wish They Wouldn't Do That!"

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I suppose it is an illiberal and bigoted act to protest about an article before one has read a single word of it, and before one has an informed idea of the content of the article. . . . But I find I belong to the postwar generation of Jews, which has . . . a strange lack of the good humor and genial indifference I think we had before the war.

The sentence I find grating on my nerves is from your newspaper ad for the October COMMENTARY. It reads: "A prominent non-Jewish public relations authority gives some friendly—but critical—advice to the Jews." My immediate reaction is to tell our kindly, well-meaning, Gentile friend to take his friendly ("but critical") advice and to go to hell with it. And to tell the civilized, liberal editors of COMMENTARY that Jews today are not particularly interested in explaining, apologizing, justifying, or turning cartwheels as a way of begging for "tolerance." We no longer have the remotest illusion that any change in manners or behavior will alter whatever history has in store for us.

If every Jew were to become a shining archangel in virtue, it would be dismissed as just another Jewish maneuver to humiliate and ridicule the Gentiles.

I have been to Europe during the war, and I know what Jews look like after they come back from Poland, and I know quite accurately what they have seen. Whatever behavior it is that causes our Gentile friend to shudder and wince and write articles of advice, at any rate he didn't have his skull smashed in, nor was he shoved into any furnaces. Such "rudeness" as that, such "boorishness" and "lack of tact" doesn't come from any Jew on the face of the earth. It comes from the other side of the fence—from the camp of our cultured superior Gentile friend who is so generous with his advice.

HAROLD LEIDNER

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I read the anonymous article "I Wish They Wouldn't Do That," in the October COMMENTARY with a good deal of interest and some amusement. It is not really "a Gentile view of Jewish public relations." It is in fact the view of a certain segment of the Jewish group, which is loud and vociferous in its outcry against any action that may set the Jews apart from their fellow citizens. . . .

There are too many nice, intelligent people who accept intellectually the need for good relations with Jews, but who never translate such acceptance into emotion and feeling. Consequently, they do nothing about it. They may use the right words and phrases. But that's where it all stops. . . . The writer of the article is very much concerned about proper restraint and dignity. . . . But his citations of illustrative cases and the morals he draws from the action taken seem to point to a desire on his part not to face realistically the ugly manifestations of anti-Semitism in the press or among the so-called statesmen of our time. Why shouldn't this issue be fought directly and openly as un-American and anti-democratic? Where are the "Christian friends" to come forward and join their Jewish neighbors in this fight against O'Donnellism and Bevinism? Yes, there are plenty of Christian sympathizers and well-wishers, but they must be prodded into action.

It is unfortunate that there should be need in this country for a special presentation of the war record of the Jews. The same applies to a special presentation of the war record of Negroes and of American Japanese. The facts are necessary to counteract the calumnies and vilification of rabble-rousers and the uninformed. . . .

The writer also pleads for the Jews in each community to take the initiative in promoting good relations by inviting their non-Jewish neighbors, friends, and fellow-citizens generally to partake of their joys, their amusements, their aesthetic and intellectual interests. This is not a practical possibility on a large scale even in the small suburban communities near New

COMMENTARY

York City, where residents form, more or less, a cultural group of similar interests. It is certainly wishful thinking so far as the country at large is concerned.

But why is the responsibility placed on the Jews? In the last part of the article, the writer accepts a good many of the stock charges against Jews as if they were universally true. Of course, he relates individual instances. But individual instances are part of the usual stock in trade. Where is the responsibility of the majority—the non-Jews—for this whole matter of good public-relations? . . .

"America is basically a decent country," the anonymous author writes. Thank God for that. But where does he find the evidence that "it is today a more decent and thoughtful country—as far as 'minorities' are concerned—than before the war"? I wish it were. I write this from the deep South, and I wonder whether Hitler has taught Americans any lesson. Is the writer of the article aware of what is happening to the Japanese and the Mexicans on the Pacific Coast? What about the state of the Union in Minneapolis and Chicago? Or the South's attitudes toward Negroes and foreigners?

Wake up and face the realities, Mr. Anonymous! We have made progress, but we are still far from the goal. And don't expect so much of the Jews. They carry a pretty heavy burden right now. Start unloading some of this burden on the shoulders of your non-Jewish contemporaries. It is their problem as much as ours.

It is an American problem. Let us all work together and try to solve it in the American way—by mutual forbearance, co-operation, and respect for each other's points of view, so that each group may contribute its best to the America we cherish.

EDWARD M. KAHN

Atlanta Jewish Community Council
Atlanta, Georgia

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

While I am sure that a useful syllabus of Do's and Don'ts could be written for almost any group of people, one may doubt whether anti-Semitism would decrease materially if Jews acted more according to the syllabus. The following true episode will illustrate what I mean:

During the war, the son of our landlady was drafted in spite of his being somewhat hard of hearing. When we asked one day how he was getting along, she gave us this report:

"Apparently he is doing fine. However, he happened to be put into a Brooklyn regiment which is almost entirely Jewish, mostly very nice boys, to be sure, but for my son it is kind of difficult. You know how those Jews are: they all whisper."

HANS ZEISEL

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

As a public-relations counselor and a Gentile, I should like to protest the technical incompetence of the article entitled "I Wish They Wouldn't Do That!—A Gentile View of Jewish Public Relations."

The anonymous public-relations counselor who wrote the piece applies criteria and techniques to the problems of a scattered and differentiated people which he has found salable to, and possibly workable for, his individual and corporate clients. In doing so, he reveals his own inflexibility in adapting techniques to novel situations and problems.

The future of the Jewish people, as a people distinguished by one of a number of related patterns of culture, depends upon a great many factors, both American and worldwide in background. To the extent to which we are able in the United States and in the United Nations to maintain a healthily expanding economy, with expanding opportunities for the peoples of the world, anti-Jewish discrimination is not likely to increase. In fact, both discrimination and the Jews (as such) are likely to disappear. Many Jews have recognized this situation, whether or not they may wish to face the probable eventual assimilation of the Jews, and they have therefore given invaluable aid to pro-democratic projects and movements. In saying this, I do not wish to give the impression that that is the only reason why Jews have engaged in pro-democratic activities, but it is a factor lacking in non-minority groups.

The "public-relations" activities of Jews and Jewish organizations—like those of other individuals and organizations—are important chiefly as facilitating or impeding long-term tendencies over which individuals have little or no control, and of which they have little knowledge or even consciousness. And in these "public-relations" activities, a loosely-knit people can reap the full advantages of a broad tactic that an individual client must use with caution.

I refer to the "break of pace" or "variety of strategies" approach. Because Jews can es-

tablish that they do not have integrated leadership, they can handle a slur variously—with facts and reasonableness, with the returning of good for evil, with indifference, and with a good sock in the jaw. All of these methods work both in the short run and the long run—for a people.

Just as Irish bombings and hangings won for them admiration for the plucky but outnumbered underdog, I am sure that the activities of Jewish extremists in Palestine have raised the whole Jewish people in the esteem of many people who had previously been indifferent or even contemptuous. In this connection, we should remember that our public-school textbooks glorify the names and deeds of those terrorists and saboteurs who made life difficult for British soldiers in the American Colonies in 1775-1783.

Probably the worst piece of advice Anonymous offers is his call for "consolidated leadership." Fortunately, such an eventuality is impossible, but it would certainly offer a bright and shining mark for anti-Jewish agitators. A great deal of the most effective anti-intolerance educational work in this country has sought to establish upon the basis of available facts and experience the following points: 1. The Jews are a scattered people, divided among themselves. 2. The Jews represent a wide range of racial types. 3. Jews should be liked or disliked upon the same criteria as members of other groups—their personal qualities. 4. Myths of a Jewish super-state organization are worse than myths; they are the creations of sick and vicious minds.

In my estimation, Jews need to continue to use many of the tactics of interpretation and defense and offense that they have used in the past, and to add or to emphasize new or little used ones.

Americans and the other fellow-countrymen of Jews admire both humor and a show of force, diplomatic statesmanship and hard-driving salesmanship, demonstrations of willingness to work together and pride in deviant backgrounds. All this should be kept in mind.

In a brief letter, I cannot undertake to answer Anonymous's many inaccuracies. But I believe that such counsel as Anonymous offers is not only misguiding, it is dangerous.

ALFRED McCLEUNG LEE
Chairman, Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Wayne University

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Looking at the Jewish problem realistically, I'm inclined to agree in principle with the anonymous Gentile writer of "I Wish They Wouldn't Do that!"

Perhaps the Jews in this country are carrying a chip on their shoulders and exhibiting a persecution complex. . . .

Perhaps too much is being said about the "Jewish problem." Perhaps the other Americans already have accepted the Jews as fellow-Americans and the present policy is tending to set the Jews off as separate and apart from the rest of the nation. . . .

Continued denunciation, we have found in the newspaper business, becomes old and uninteresting. That could easily be the end result if agitators are allowed to continue to exaggerate minor incidents. All Jews should read the article and ponder its import.

LOUIS LEVAND

Publisher, The Wichita Beacon
Wichita, Kansas

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

The anonymous writer . . . is to be highly commended for writing, and **COMMENTARY** for publishing, his frank criticisms of Jewish public-relations. . . . We frequently do not realize that there are many Gentiles who would like to co-operate with us toward improvement of race relations. On account of our experiences during our history, and particularly during the last thirteen years, we have become very sensitive toward any criticism from the outside, which is psychologically understandable. . . . But if we learn the point of view of others, it will help us to recognize our own faults—and we certainly are not without them.

HENRY SALFELD

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

. . . It must be hard for a Christian who owns the earth to realize how strong is the temptation for a peace-loving Jew to pretend it didn't happen when an anti-Semite "shoots off his mouth"—and what good will it do to protest anyway? But he must know how important it is for our souls to stand up and smite back as hard as we can. Let not our good friend believe that doing so makes anti-Semites. They are made in more subtle and far less rational ways. I want to be friends with Christians; I have some good Christian friends. But I don't

COMMENTARY

know any who ask or expect us to be "dignified" when we're hurt. My friends think there are times when we ought to fight back, like anyone else, get as mad as they get, and not worry primarily about "policy". . . .

FANNIE S. COARN

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

. . . Mr. Anonymous talks like many of our well-meaning friends who have suddenly acquired broad viewpoints, or shall I say brotherly viewpoints? . . . Where were they during all the Hitlerian murder of the Jews? . . .

And now Mr. Anonymous talks of the nice ties. . . .

SOL PAUL FINK

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I wish to express my thanks to the anonymous author for the value I have found in his discussion of Jewish public relations. His suggestions and constructive criticism are most welcome to me, and I think they will be welcome to many thousands of other Jews who, like myself, are proud of their heritage, fully aware of their problems (which are difficult to solve), and still consider themselves Americans, first and foremost.

WILLIAM R. SIDENBERG

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

. . . I question . . . COMMENTARY's wisdom in accepting such an article. . . . Our own dignity and maturity require that we try to solve our internal difficulties ourselves. And our history unmistakably demonstrates that it has ever been a sorry day for us when we brought our conflicts to others for adjudication. . . .

RABBI SAMUEL SOBEL

Honolulu, T. H.

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

. . . I know that Anonymous is talking about what he thinks constitutes good public-relations. Washing dirty linen in public as some Jewish organizations have taken to doing lately is apparently not good public-relations. But let him not forget: on the effective policies and functioning of these Jewish organizations depend the lives and survival of another half

million Jews. Only democratic discussion on all levels can insure this effective functioning.

HENRY LOEBLOWITZ LENNARD
Yiddish Scientific Institute
New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

. . . Here is some sound and sensible advice, which we need badly. Too often we act like irresponsible adolescents. . . . If we could only learn to meet this age-old problem of anti-Semitism with quiet dignity and poise!

CHARLES I. COOPER
The Minneapolis Federation for Jewish Service
Minneapolis, Minnesota

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I have read with interest the two articles on Jewish "public relations"—the one by "Anonymous," and the reply by Mr. Ralph E. Samuel.

I must say it seems to me that "Anonymous" has the better of it. Mr. Samuel practically admits all the points Anonymous makes and only counters by reciting some of the more distressing examples of the prejudice itself.

Such racial and religious prejudice is, in my view, a social disease, and one deeply imbedded in the tissues of society. It has manifested itself in all times and places, and against all sorts of groups. Two of its manifestations are concepts such as "the Master Race" and "the Chosen People." Personally, I always get a whiff of it when I am called a "Gentile."

In the long run, I feel that we will get at the real causes and cures only through the anthropologists and other social scientists. Thus, I applaud the point of view expressed in your article printed in the December COMMENTARY, "Can We Fight Prejudice Scientifically?" Except that we can never "fight" it, any more than we can "fight" darkness. We get rid of darkness by turning on the light.

Pending more light, however, it does seem to me we can make progress by openly naming and identifying the disease, its symptoms and its dangers—just as we are doing with cancer, for example.

Here I think the right kind of public-relations techniques can help, and the program at present in preparation by the Advertising Council is designed to do this.

JAMES W. YOUNG
Chairman, The Advertising Council
New York City

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Wishing Will Make It So

THE MIRACLE OF THE BELLS. By RUSSELL JANNEY. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1946. 497 pp. \$3.00.

Reviewed by DAVID T. BAZELON

JOHN BRUNINI, director of the Catholic Poetry Society, says, "This is a story of God's grace, originating in the simple goodness and faith of a young girl, spreading in ever widening circles through the lives of many and uniting individuals of all classes in a new sense of brotherhood." The publisher considers *The Miracle of the Bells* to be a novel "of joyousness in life that will sweep the reader into a delightful liberating experience. . . ." A Protestant minister of New York—it is a Catholic book—went so far as to compare it with *The Robe*, calling it "one of the finest examples of practical, real Christianity that I have seen in modern fiction." One hundred twenty-five thousand copies have been printed. It is now number three on most best-seller lists.

Russell Janney, the author of *The Miracle of the Bells*, has been a press agent and writer of song lyrics; he was producer and co-author of the very successful operetta, *The Vagabond King*; he even published stories in Mencken's *Smart Set*. His extravaganza is filled with anecdotes about well-known figures, and many boastful references to great names.

It tells the story of Bill Dunnigan, the greatest press agent in America, who brings the body of Olga Treskovna, the purest female and best actress of America, to Coaltown, the worst mining town in the country, for burial. The first part of the book is a flashback to the love story of the press agent and the actress, which was ideal, rather uncomplicated, and completely unconsummated. With her death, there begins an exhibition of power by the press agent: this becomes the real substance of the book.

The mind at work here is trying to convince itself—and succeeding—that for the loved object, death is better than life. Olga, still suffering from tuberculosis contracted while working

in a mine, kills herself by overwork in the movies. She wants to finish a picture on schedule—to achieve something rather than to live. Dunnigan is partly responsible—he knew she was sick, and yet he did not urge her to abandon the role in the film which he got for her. Now, because its star has died, the picture is not going to be released; Dunnigan has been fired—he is a jinx. In order to get his job back and the film off the shelves, Dunnigan pulls a stunt. Olga wanted the bells of all the churches rung at her funeral. The press agent decides to keep them going for four days.

From this point on, the story becomes one of booming ecstasy, ending at last with a funeral service attended by thousands, including movie stars, governors, Jack Dempsey, and anyone else the average person might like to have at his funeral; all this is broadcast, photographed for the newsreels, etc., etc. And during the four days that the church bells ring, everything and everybody is changed by Dunnigan from badness to goodness, from failure to success, from hate to love, and so on. The movie producer, a Jew, releases not only the film to the world—assured of the greatest box-office success ever—but also a torrent of money to Dunnigan; a poor priest becomes a national hero—and rich; those who happened to be well off "B.D."—Before Dunnigan—learn the value of other things than money; the union leader, a bully and an atheist, gets a punch in his face and goodness in his soul from Dunnigan—and so on and so on until the reader is ready to jump under the bed. Dunnigan gets his job back with a raise, and repeated visits from Olga's ghost. Oh, yes: there is also a miracle.

THE plot's intent is reflected in the actual writing technique. In the first part of the book, as the love story is being told, Dunnigan's mind continually strays from immediate unpleasant situations to recall sentimentally important experiences of his past. Later, when things are going about as well for him as could be imagined (literally), his only real trouble is that Olga is dead. This difficulty is resolved

by frequent chats with her ghost. The flow of the plot is nothing but the activity of setting up and knocking down straw men. Bad people appear so Dunnigan can make them good; problems arise so Dunnigan can solve them.

Because of the relation it constructs between illusion and reality, the book reads more like a movie than a movie looks. Reality is introduced only for the sake of illusion and in order to have something to pervert. (The power of the movies is to make unreality very real: given the naturalness of the actual celluloid images, their order of arrangement can depart from reality at will.) What begins as a banal, unregenerated contrast between "the sordid reality of selfish interests" and "the pure world of spirit"—between Bad and Good, in other words—undergoes a strange development. Selfish interest and goodness are no longer contrasted, *they are united*. The main vehicle of this unity is success; nor does the author bother to distinguish between religion and success. And the quality of *sincerity* is completely lost in this unifying process. It becomes irrelevant.

What we observe here is the absolute futility of using the simple terms "good" and "bad" as a means of understanding the world. These concepts can function only within a structure of knowledge that would assure us what "good" and "bad" mean *in practice*—and it is such a structure that we moderns have lost, perhaps irretrievably. In its absence, the use of these naive terms can only be referred to a context of wishes. The world is simplified out of all relation to reality in order to enable Mr. Janney and Hollywood to approve of it as good." (Good for whom and for what?) Here art loses sight of everything except the wish. Under the influence of Hollywood, and books like *The Miracle of the Bells*, culture becomes nothing but the interplay of childish wish with the superficial appearance of reality. Art becomes a means of deceiving and drugging us, so that we begin to live, as adults, either non-emotional or childish lives.

Mr. Janney's fantastic piece of fiction is significant not only in that it shows the effect of the movies on other cultural media, but also for the relations it suggests between religion and Hollywood. Dunnigan is in part a press agent for religion, wanting to "put it over" the same way he sells movies. He is continually saying that religion and the theater both put on "shows"; he calls God the "Great Producer,"

Hollywood's resources for producing illusion

—movies, movie money, and the persons of its actors and actresses—have been employed in recent years, as we know, by political parties and the government. In *The Miracle of the Bells*, these same resources are used to popularize religion. If we understand that illusion has always been a primary aspect of religion, as well as of politics; and when we realize that the movie machine is far and away the most effective illusion-producing force in our society —has become, in fact, the great secular religion of our time—then it appears obvious that religion, like politics, must exploit the Hollywood mechanism or else decline further in its power. But this will mean that religion trades increasing ineffectuality for increasing vulgarianization.

HIGH-BROW culture in America, leaning heavily on Europe, has never succeeded in creating a truly profound and satisfying national image; nor have the various American folk cultures been capable in modern times of rising to a national level. But now, at last, it appears that Hollywood and commercial culture may actually be able to manufacture this unified, national image. The political meaning of all this is enormous and obvious. While folk culture is the masses' own expression, and while high-brow culture at its best always penetrated the reality of the mass in order to stimulate it, this new commercial culture demands a passive attitude. Democracy comes to mean not that the masses will create their own heaven on earth, but that they will enter one already constructed by their exploiters. Men will not pay homage to the gods in themselves as D. H. Lawrence demanded; they will worship in distorted mirrors the reflections of what they have not been.

The Miracle of the Bells is written in baby-talk superlatives, like an advertising blurb: to sell a fake, insane image of our life. Do the living human beings who create these childish wish-pictures actually believe in them themselves? Or is it possible that this book is nothing but a money-making hoax? For our present purposes, it makes little actual difference one way or another: as has already been pointed out, sincerity is irrelevant to the whole book, internally. But it seems quite likely that the paranoiac delusions of grandeur that constitute the character of the press agent actually do belong to the man who signed his name to the book. A ghost writer is at least a craftsman and would have used more restraint than did

the author of *The Miracle of the Bells*. The trouble is that Mr. Janney ghosted his own book.

In Search of a Lost Security

STEFAN ZWEIG. BY FRIDERIKE ZWEIG. Translated by ERNA McARTHUR. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946. 277 pp. \$3.00.

Reviewed by HEINZ POLITZER

THOUGH blessed with an abundance of gifts, Stefan Zweig was never a happy man. The story of his life is one of success on a scale seldom experienced by European authors; yet, as we learn from these memoirs of his first wife, it was also a story of homesickness, of sudden fits of temper, of an inexplicable uneasiness. He was a distinguished member of the European elite, but he never felt fully at home with his own achievements. His shyness and modesty were symptoms of a more deep-seated insecurity. In exile he was spared physical persecution and moral degradation, yet he committed suicide—in search of shelter such as no human proximity could grant him any longer.

In his memoirs and his last letters, Zweig said that he had been uprooted by Hitler's destruction of his world. But his malady and the decline of his world really began long before—when the shots of Sarajevo were fired.

He was born in Austria, the son of a well-to-do Jewish family, his parents having come to Vienna from Moravia and Italy. In Vienna, he imbibed the humanism of the Viennese secondary schools, with good reason called *humanistische Gymnasien*. He was discovered by Theodor Herzl, then editor of the literary column of the *Wiener Neue Freie Presse*, mouthpiece of the Jewish upper ten. This literary column, the *feuilleton*, left its mark on Stefan Zweig's writing. He mastered the *feuilleton* style easily, developed it, and used it as the nucleus of greater literary enterprises in his biographies, novels, and stories. It was the appropriate expression of an easygoing and seemingly secure world.

Stefan Zweig was, and remained, the offspring of the Austrian *grande bourgeoisie*, a class without distinct social boundaries, and given more to the agreeable than to the exacting way of life. Here he was at home, here he could easily trace the interrelation of social con-

ditions and artistic achievements. The best chapters of his memoirs are devoted to a description of the bygone world, the carefree, the "wind-still" time.

He was brought up to enjoy intellectual pleasures in a world far apart from the tribulations of the underprivileged. Too clever to close his eyes to the misery of others, he early suffered from a bad conscience. Sometimes his longing for social justice inspired him to his most convincing writing; more often it was an inhibition rather than a stimulus. His social insights were like traumatic shocks.

He was a brave man. He struggled for European understanding and against war. He owned Beethoven's desk and believed in the message of the *Ninth Symphony*: "All men become brethren." He was an unselfish friend. Much of his time was devoted to translations, more to silent acts of personal sympathy. Yet he only felt secure with his books, his priceless autographs, his own studies. He erected his imposing work as a dam against the demands of reality. But as often as not, the dam failed to hold back the external turmoil.

He was a historian of no mean merit, and a psychologist who knew Freud's lesson before he had actually learnt it. But he never appreciated fully the radical implications of his age. He, too, had his hand on the pulse of his time, but he was affected by the general agony and could suggest no treatment. In a sense, this may have contributed to his success. He never pretended to know more than he had experienced. He did not urge any decision beyond his all-embracing love of the spirit. The sceptical reader could not feel deceived, nor the nostalgic disappointed. He led them softly on the ways of scholarly escape.

His style, the unmistakably Viennese blend of psychology and music, produced fascinating chapters. Like many another Austrian, he knew by instinct both Slav boundlessness and the candor of the Mediterranean. He could present a simple idea or a straightforward plot in a somewhat high-brow manner, thus meeting halfway both the connoisseur and the general reader. And above all, he had taste, an unobtrusive approach, and the modesty of a literary craftsman who leaves the reader alone with his second thoughts.

He wrote the lives of the great 19th-century writers—Dostoevski, Dickens, Balzac—and felt humble before them. With intimate knowl-

edge, he described the struggle with the Demon, but he himself was denied the blessing of truly great creation. He was prolific and yet kept up his standard. Only the labors of the genius remained unknown to him: the utter resistance offered to the forming hand by the material, the compulsion that consumes the heart and makes the work imperishable.

He was a called, but not a chosen man. Friderike Zweig records her husband's feeling of satisfaction after he had reduced his manuscripts, sometimes to one-tenth of their original size. This was not only the attitude of a skilled craftsman. It was, also, self-castigation. He was aware of his gifts as well as of his deficiencies, and of the place they allowed him to occupy. And he felt chilly when his success outgrew his self-imposed limits.

A vacuum surrounded him, personally, socially, spiritually. His exile was but the materialization of his inner solitude, and his suicide but its last consequence.

The Austrian poet Rilke, to whose memory Zweig composed a noble speech, had taught: "To endure is everything" (*Ueberstehn ist alles*). But Stefan Zweig was too deeply imbued with old Austrian liberalism to be capable of the complete resignation that is needed to endure. He was too eager for security. He had accepted Judaism as the cornerstone of a house with many mansions: intellectually, he professed his ancestral religion as one of the various legacies that had been bestowed upon him. His Jeremiah is a passionate attempt to penetrate to the roots of European ethics. But an education that separated the "intellectual" from the "practical" life kept him from seeing more than the blurred outlines of reality. As late as in the years preceding the *Anschluss*, Friderike Zweig is able to report that he feared the outstanding success of any Jew (not excluding himself), because "any Jew occupying a prominent position aroused envy, and thus injured the interests of his race." It was security he wished for, and his caution made him blind wherever his relations to the body politic were at stake.

He never realized that his fame as well as his shortcomings were conditioned by the dubious position of the Jews, even in his beloved pre-war Austria. His suffering was little else than the introversion of the German-Jewish conflict. What he shouldered as a private burden was in fact a reflection of the situation to which he found himself exposed. Though a

master in drawing historical backgrounds, he never truly envisaged the setting his time had prepared for him.

Friderike Zweig clearly intended in this book to add new aspects to her husband's self-portrait. She succeeds insofar as she is able to make clear those aspects of his personality that modesty had prevented him from revealing. She contributes some material of relevance, and some that perhaps would better have been left untold. As a human document, the book bears witness to an unrelenting struggle to do justice, even to the second Mrs. Zweig. Nobody would expect the author to be entirely victorious in such a struggle. Nor does she see her husband's problem in the context of the European crisis or in that of his race. She is too much absorbed in the search for her inner security, her lost paradise.

In this respect she is a true child of her generation: they stood on the verge of the abyss, they knew they did, and they never dared to fathom the depth that threatened to swallow them. They built dream-castles and worshiped their agonies, and forgot that the day was claimed already by the inarticulate masses. They will be remembered as the last, frail descendants of a noble house. Their very shortsightedness was the token of their origin.

A Jewish Miscellany

THE TALMUDIC ANTHOLOGY: TALES AND TEACHINGS OF THE RABBIS. Selected and edited by LOUIS I. NEWMAN in collaboration with SAMUEL SPITZ. New York, Behrman House, Inc., 1945. 570 pp. \$5.50.

Reviewed by THEODOR H. GASTER

THERE is a growing tendency these days to publish good books under bad titles. The present volume is a case in point. It is, as its sub-title suggests, a comprehensive—and, it may be added, an excellent—collection of Rabbinic maxims, adages, parables, anecdotes, and apothegms such as should prove of eminent service to those wishing to recover the nuggets of traditional Jewish wisdom while lacking either the patience or the equipment to delve for them.

But this book is certainly not an anthology of the Talmud. For the Talmud is a vast literature that is by no means confined to such material. A true anthology of its contents would

have to include specimens of its dialectic, its modes of legal argumentation, and so forth. Moreover, since the Talmud is a compilation of sources extending over several centuries, some sort of chronological stratification is imperative if the impression is not to be conveyed that its thought is everywhere uniform and consistent, and that there is such a thing as a standard Talmudic attitude towards this or that subject.

This volume blandly overlooks such considerations. No key is provided to the date of this or that authority cited or even to the context in which a given dictum was pronounced. It is as if the whole of English literature, from Chaucer to Hemingway, had been diligently combed for pithy and arresting sayings and anecdotes, and the results presented in one huge compendium as representative of the character of that literature as a whole, without distinction between the temperaments, attitudes, and social backgrounds of the several periods.

To aggravate this basic mistake, Rabbi Newman and his collaborator have included much that does not really belong to the Talmud at all. Extracts from Midrashic literature and from the Zohar abound in this volume. Nor are the editors particularly careful about checking the sources of the extracts they include; there are many false references, apparently taken over without correction from those three (unspecified) anthologies in the Hebrew language to which they confess their indebtedness.

Far more serviceable to general readers desiring some acquaintance with Talmudic and Rabbinic lore are A. Cohen's *Everyman's Talmud* (London, 1932) and the *Rabbinic Anthology* by Claude Montefiore and Herbert Loewe (London, 1938). Both of these works likewise digest the material according to topics; both take pains to give the reader a proper historical background and perspective; and the latter especially is careful to indicate the approximate dates of the authorities quoted, and to discuss the particular extracts within the wider compass of Rabbinic thought as a whole.

TAKING the present volume as it is, however, the work is by no means unacceptable and, errors and omissions excepted, it may in fact be warmly recommended. In the comprehensiveness of its selections and in the alphabetic arrangement of topics, it marks a distinct advance upon earlier compilations of the same sort by Polano, Hershon, and Hodes, and it offers to English readers the same kind of thing

as was provided so admirably for those conversant with Hebrew by Bialik and Rawnitzky's classic *Sefer Aggadah* (Cracow-Odessa 1908-1910). The subjects included cover almost the whole range of human experience and of Jewish life.

But to appreciate fully the spirit of these extracts, it would have been well if some attention had been paid to the distinctive categories of thought from which they issue. It is hopeless to try to squeeze Rabbinic or any other distinctive thought into our own categories and patterns. Piety, for instance, had an entirely different connotation, or at least a different emphasis, from what it has for us, among whom the concept is charged inevitably with Christian notions and doctrines. Similarly, Rabbinic ideas about labor conceive of it as something vastly different, both in character and function, from what it has become under a capitalist economy, while maxims treating of social relationships envisage a somewhat different environment from that which confronts the Jew in the modern world.

The principle of *mutatis mutandis* has to be observed in assessing Rabbinic thought, and the assumption should be resisted that its underlying principles issue from any absolutely valid ethic, independent of the particular situation and peculiar circumstances of the periods from which this or that dictum happens to emanate. "Permanent value" is a dangerous concept with which to play, and those who would present ancient thought to modern readers should be especially careful to remember that all thought is progressive, not static, and to distinguish the local (in the widest sense of the term) from the universal. Otherwise, anthologies lose at least half their value.

Really, Dr. Parkes . . .

AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE: ANTI-SEMITISM. By JAMES PARKES. New York, Penguin Books, 1946. 160 pp. 25¢.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM IN THE MODERN WORLD. By JAMES PARKES. Oxford University Press, 1946. 242 pp. \$1.25.

Reviewed by MARIE JAHODA

JAMES PARKES is not a dispassionate author. With obvious good will, and a purpose far beyond the presentation of facts, he works with

a missionary zest: he wants to acquaint the Gentile reader with the full truth about the Jews and about anti-Semitism. And although he does not say so himself, he allows his publishers to claim that the reading of his books might cure the anti-Semite, or at least, lead him on the road to recovery from an abnormal mental attitude.

To his task the author brings a fund of historical knowledge, especially about the Jews and Judaism, a fine feeling for justice and morality in personal relationships, a gift for popular writing, and a very real appreciation of the scope of his task—evidenced when he says that about 95 per cent of the population, including the Jews themselves and those who have made a deep study of the question, are at least slightly unbalanced on it.

Dr. Parkes, like the anonymous author whose article appeared in the October *COMMENTARY*, belongs to that group of people with whom one only reluctantly disagrees on fundamental issues because of their integrity and honesty of purpose. In Dr. Parkes' case, the disinclination to argue is increased by the realization that most of what he says is based on solid fact. Most, but not all.

Both books cover, broadly speaking, the same subject matter. *The Jewish Problem* is oriented more toward historical and political data, while *An Enemy of the People* is directed more toward contemporary and human questions. In both books, however, the problem is dealt with under the following aspects: (1) the manipulation of anti-Semitism for politically reactionary ends; (2) the history of the Jews and, linked with it, (3) the question of why the Jewish people offers such a persistent target for prejudice; (4) the solution of the Jewish problem, which for Dr. Parkes would be synonymous with the elimination of prejudice; and (5) the psychological and sociological analysis of prejudice.

Dr. Parkes is at his best in dealing with the history and politics. The story of the persecution of the Russian Jews in the 19th century, the Dreyfus Affair, the account of the forgery and the final exposure as a huge swindle of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," include all the salient facts and are dramatically told.

His account of the Palestine problem is comprehensive and fair; that he has nothing new to add is the fault, after all, of this particular subject matter. He makes a reasoned argument for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine for those who want to go there.

Though he considers the historical and legal claims of Arabs and Jews equally justified, the moral claim of Jewry and its desperate need, he maintains, tip the balance in its favor.

It is in his discussion of the sociological and psychological functions of prejudice, however, that one takes profound exception to what Dr. Parkes says. Not only does his treatment here remain little more than sketchy; it shifts, significantly, in a chapter headed "The Psychology and Sociology of Anti-Semitism," from the problem of anti-Semitism to a consideration of the problem of the Jews themselves. And here Dr. Parkes reveals himself as an adherent of that school of thought which implies, with apparent good common sense, that there wouldn't be any anti-Semitism if it weren't for the Jews. Of course, Dr. Parkes does not draw the logical conclusion that only the extermination of the Jews would finally remove the bane of anti-Semitism. But some people have—and do.

The horrifying similarity between all forms of anti-group prejudice, whether expressed through lynching, anti-Semitism, Moslem-Hindu riots, or the persecution of the early Christians, has been pointed out often enough. True, if there were no Jews, anti-Semitism would disappear after a while. But prejudice would remain as long as the conditions—social, economic, and psychological—on which prejudice feeds remain: as long as want and frustration continue, as aggressiveness is wrongly handled in early childhood, as the tendency to project upon others what one fears in oneself persists, and as the fear of the different as fostered in a competitive society remains. If these are the real roots of prejudice, then prejudice must be tackled in the prejudiced person, not in his victim, for whom, in any case, our culture unfortunately provides many alternate substitutes should this particular one disappear.

Dr. Parkes occasionally alludes to these points. But he still tells his story as if the history of the Jews was the most potent factor in anti-Semitism. And Dr. Parkes is not only inconsistent but occasionally disquieting. When he quotes the Church Father Tertullian's outcry as a parallel to modern anti-Semitism—"If the Tiber overflows into the city, if the Nile does not flow into the countryside, if the heavens remain unmoved, if the earth quakes, if there is famine or pestilence, at once the cry goes up: to the lions with the Christians!"—he shows that he knows the irrational nature of

prejudice quite well. But when he asks the Gentile to put himself in the Jew's place and then asks: "Would the crime rate remain low in your vicinity? Would there be no hesitation about your loyalty? Would you be tempted to no anti-social act or feeling? Well?" he seems to forget that the Christians do not actually divert the Tiber into the city. He implies the correctness of the accusations against the Jews, for whom he asks only mercy and forgiveness.

And in many cases he does more than imply, and admits charges that Jews will, properly, deny as being as unfounded as the myth of ritual murder. Thus Dr. Parkes explains that Jews were compelled by the Czarist regime to be dishonest. Dr. Parkes says: "It takes some generations to eradicate such a tradition, and in the meantime . . . the number of cases in which Jewish businessmen are rightly suspected by their Gentile competitors of sharp practice which just does not break the law, will be somewhat higher than normal."

Nowhere does Dr. Parkes claim that he himself belongs to the 5 per cent who are unbiased on the subject of Jews and anti-Semitism. (Of course, this reviewer, according to the author, belongs to the biased majority simply because she is Jewish.) In all fairness, and despite his good intentions and so much excellent work here and elsewhere, I do not think he could claim inclusion in that select group. The *lapsus mentis* of Dr. Parkes offers additional sad evidence (quite unneeded) of the ubiquity of anti-Semitism. If saints err . . .

The Same Old Story

BARABBAS: A NOVEL OF THE TIME OF JESUS. By EMERY BEKESSY. Translated from the German by RICHARD and CLARA WINSTON. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1946. 324 pp. \$2.75.

Reviewed by MORDECAI S. CHERTOFF

THERE IS here no subtlety, no clever invention, no sense of historical justice. It is difficult to say whether Bekessy is primarily interested in contrasting Barabbas—who represents violence, hatred, and physical salvation—with Jesus—who, of course, represents love and humility—or in writing a hate-book against Jews. References to Jewish priests are always accompanied by lurid adjectives: even tough Barab-

bas "almost shrank from the cold light that gleamed in the [High Priest's] eyes as he spoke"; the power of the priesthood rests on "violence, hatred, harshness, mercilessness, impatience, arrogance, *idolization of one nation and one race* [reviewer's italics], killing and warfare."

The old canard that interprets the Chosen People concept as an anticipation of the day when Israel will enslave the world is here revived, and the enslavement is made contingent upon vicarious atonement by a Messiah. We read that "it has become a habit among the Jews to kill their prophets," and then are treated to a description of the Jews arresting Jesus, trying him, condemning him, inflicting all sorts of obscenities upon him, and finally blackmailing the helpless Pilate into accomplishing their wishes. We learn that Pilate wanted to save Jesus because of the procurator's love for Mary Magdalen, but was prevented from doing so because the Jews, who were favorites in Rome at the time (!), would have had him removed. Lest we miss the point: after the crucifixion, Pilate "felt oppressed by shame, tormented by disgrace for this city, this nation, himself." And Bekessy's literal message—lest anyone should dissociate the Jews of that era from those of today—is: "Don't you think that some day the world will lose patience with you and exterminate the whole pack of you?"

To make the Jewish case even worse, Jesus is bowdlerized into a meek figure who doesn't even drive the money-changers out of the Temple; such a universalist that not only does he not limit his ministry to the Jews, but "he recognizes no historical tradition, no native land"; so forgiving that he preaches only love and never even reprimands the Pharisees.

The author's anti-Semitic zeal is exceeded only by the banality of his style—and his ignorance. He reverses the facts and makes the Sadducees lenient and the Pharisees severe in their approach to Jewish law; a Maccabean is involved with the priests and Barabbas in a revolt (how this Maccabean escaped the Herodian liquidation of that family is not explained); Barabbas' army (an army overlooked by Jewish historians of the period, and by Josephus as well) is so great that the Romans fear for their lives even in Jerusalem and travel only in full centuries; Roman soldiers use the ancient Chinese foot-tickling torture; the cold in Jerusalem is unbearable in winter (!)—children pelt Roman soldiers with snowballs in